

## DOCTOR OF EDUCATION (EDD)

### In Search of Bilingual Education in Dubai's Private K-12 Education Sector

Azzam, Ziad

*Award date:*  
2019

*Awarding institution:*  
University of Bath

[Link to publication](#)

#### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

#### **Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

## DOCTOR OF EDUCATION (EDD)

### In Search of Bilingual Education in Dubai's Private K-12 Education Sector

Azzam, Ziad

*Award date:*  
2019

*Awarding institution:*  
University of Bath

[Link to publication](#)

#### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

#### **Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

# **IN SEARCH OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN DUBAI'S PRIVATE K-12 EDUCATION SECTOR**

Ziad J. Azzam

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Education

University of Bath

Department of Education

May 2019

## **COPYRIGHT**

Attention is drawn to the fact that copyright of this thesis rests with the author.

A copy of this thesis has been supplied on condition that anyone who consults it is understood to recognise that its copyright rests with its author and they must not copy it or use material from it except as permitted by law or with the consent of the author.

This thesis may be available for consultation within the University Library and may be photocopied or lent to other libraries for the purpose of consultation with effect from June 2019.

Signed on behalf of the Faculty / School of Education \_\_\_\_\_

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>TITLE PAGE</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>FOREWORD, PROLOGUE, ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>9</b>
1.1 Linguistic Dualism in Dubai	10
1.2 Research Objectives and Research Questions	12
<b>CHAPTER 2: CONTEXT</b>	<b>16</b>
2.1 A Brief History of Dubai	16
2.2 Dubai and the Capitalist Developmental State Paradigm	17
2.3 Dubai's K-12 Educational Landscape	19
2.4 Language Provision in Dubai Schools	23
2.5 Examples of Arabic-English Bilingual Schools in the Arab Region	26
2.6 Profiling Al Mizhar American Academy School and Dubai International Private School	28
<b>CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	<b>30</b>
3.1 Defining Bilingual Education	30
3.2 Typology of Bilingual Education	32
3.3 Benefits of Bilingual Education	36
3.4 Language and Identity, and Language Shift	39
3.5 Research on Bilingual Education in the Arab World	42
<b>CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>47</b>
4.1 Research Paradigm	48
4.2 Research Strategy and Framework	52
4.3 Research Design and Participants	54
4.4 Methods of Data Collection and Analysis	56
4.5 Validity	61
4.6 Ethics	63

<b>CHAPTER 5: PHASE 1 – DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS</b>	<b>66</b>
5.1 Phase 1 – Data Collection	68
5.2 Phase 1 – Data Analysis	71
5.3 Phase 1 – Findings	73
<b>CHAPTER 6: PHASE 2 – DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS</b>	<b>78</b>
6.1 Phase 2 – Data Collection	78
6.2 Phase 2 – Data Analysis	85
6.3 Phase 2 – Findings	89
6.3.1 Findings from Section 1 of the ‘Final Survey’ – Biographical Data	90
6.3.2 Findings from Section 2 of the ‘Final Survey’ – Language Background Scale	90
6.3.3 Findings from Section 3 of the ‘Final Survey’ – Attitudes Towards Language	94
6.3.4 Findings from Section 4 of the ‘Final Survey’ – The Bilingual Model (Singular Statements)	97
6.3.5 Findings from Section 5 of the ‘Final Survey’ – The Bilingual Model (Couplets)	99
<b>CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION</b>	<b>104</b>
7.1 Linguistic Dualism and School Choice Dilemma	104
7.1.1 Attitudes Towards Arabic and English Among Emiratis	104
7.1.2 The Status of Arabic and English Within Dubai’s Private Education Sector	106
7.1.3 Arabic Diglossia/Transglossia	107
7.2 Dubai’s Bilingual Education Model	109
7.2.1 Perceptions Among Emiratis of the Benefits of Bilingual Education	109
7.2.2 Key Components of Dubai’s Arabic-English Bilingual Model	111
7.2.3 One Type Fits All Versus Multiple Variants	112
7.3 Development and Implementation of Dubai’s Bilingual Education Model	116
7.3.1 Obstacles and Opportunities	117
7.3.2 Universal or Choice-Based; Elitist or Egalitarian	119
<b>CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION</b>	<b>124</b>
<b>CHAPTER 9: REFLECTIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH</b>	<b>129</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>133</b>

<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>147</b>
Appendix 1: 'Background Survey' Used in the 2016 Pilot Study	147
Appendix 2: 'Background Survey' Used in the Current Enquiry	149
Appendix 3: Sections 4 and 5 of the 'Final Survey'	153
Appendix 4: Guiding Questions for Essay Composition	160
Appendix 5: Parent Information Letter and Consent Form	161
Appendix 6: Profiling Al Mizhar American Academy School, Dubai International Private School and Jumeira Baccalaureate School	162
Appendix 7: Phase 1 Participant Information Sheet	164
Appendix 8: Sample Reference Letter Provided to Phase 1 Participants	166
Appendix 9: Student Essays Collected During Phase 1	167
Appendix 10: Thematic Analysis of Key Phrases/Sentences Extracted from the Student Essays Collected During Phase 1	185
Appendix 11: The Construction of a 'Loose Network' – Case Example	192
Appendix 12: 'Loose Networks' for the Twelve Student Essays	194
Appendix 13: Essay Submitted by A-8 for the Pilot Study (March 2016)	206
Appendix 14: Thematic Analysis of Participant A-8's Evolving Positions	207
Appendix 15: 'Tension Singulars' – Before and After Editing	210
Appendix 16: 'Tension Couplets' – Before and After Editing	212
Appendix 17: Principals Information Letter for Phase 2 Data Collection	214
Appendix 18: KHDA's Letter of Support (dated 06 June 2018)	215
Appendix 19: Statistical Analysis of Responses to Statements 39–56 Across the Four Perspectives	216
Appendix 20: Statistical Analysis of Responses to Statements 57–84 Across the Four Perspectives	219

## LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

### FIGURES:

Figure 1: Dubai's Population Trend (1975 to 2015)	20
Figure 2: Dubai's Private Schools Trend (1996 to 2016)	21
Figure 3: Private Versus Public Education Trend (1996 to 2016)	21
Figure 4: Emirati Student Population (1996 to 2016)	22
Figure 5: Dubai's Private Schools by Curriculum Type (2016-17)	24
Figure 6: Dubai's Private Sector Student Population by Curriculum Type (2016-17)	24
Figure 7: Phase 1 – Data Collection and Analysis Action Plan	67
Figure 8: Phase 2 – Data Collection and Analysis Action Plan	78

### TABLES:

Table 1: Phase 1 Data Collection – Summary of Key Events and Milestones	70
Table 2: 'Tension Couplets' Emerging from Analysis of the Participant Essays	74
Table 3: 'Tension Singulars' Emerging from Analysis of the Participant Essays	75
Table 4: Comments Received from the KHDA	81
Table 5: Transformation of Statements Singled Out by the KHDA – Before & After Editing	81
Table 6: Catalogue of Target Schools for Phase 2	82
Table 7: Breakdown by School of Number of Entries in Response to the 'Full Survey'	84
Table 8: Breakdown by School of Validated Responses to the 'Full Survey'	87
Table 9: Key Characteristics of the Six Participating Schools (re. Curriculum & Demographics)	88
Table 10: Responses to: "In Which Language Do You Speak to Your Siblings/Cousins?"	91
Table 11: Responses to Questions Related to Household Help, Social Media, Surfing the Internet, Watching TV, Reading Newspapers, Reading Books and Shopping	91
Table 12: Responses to Questions Related to Speaking on the Phone, Listening to the Radio or Music, Playing Sports, Eating Out or Dreaming During Sleep	92
Table 13: Statistical Analysis of Responses to Questions 16-19 Across the Four Perspectives	93
Table 14: Statistical Analysis of Responses to Statements 31-38 Across the Four Perspectives	95
Table 15: Classification of 'Tension Couplets' into 'High', 'Moderate' or 'Weak'	100

## FOREWORD, PROLOGUE, ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND DEDICATION

### FOREWORD:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

In the Name of Allāh, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

و الصلاة و السلام على أشرف الأنبياء و المرسلين و على آله و صحابته و على من تبعهم إلى يوم الدين.

اللهم لا علم لنا إلا ما علمتنا إنك أنت العليم الحكيم.

اللهم علمنا ما ينفعنا و انفعنا بما علمتنا و زدنا علماً.

اللهم افتح علينا حكمتك، و انشر علينا رحمتك يا ذا الجلال و الإكرام.

و صلّي اللهم على سيدنا محمد و على آله الكرام.

و لا حول و لا قوة إلا بالله.

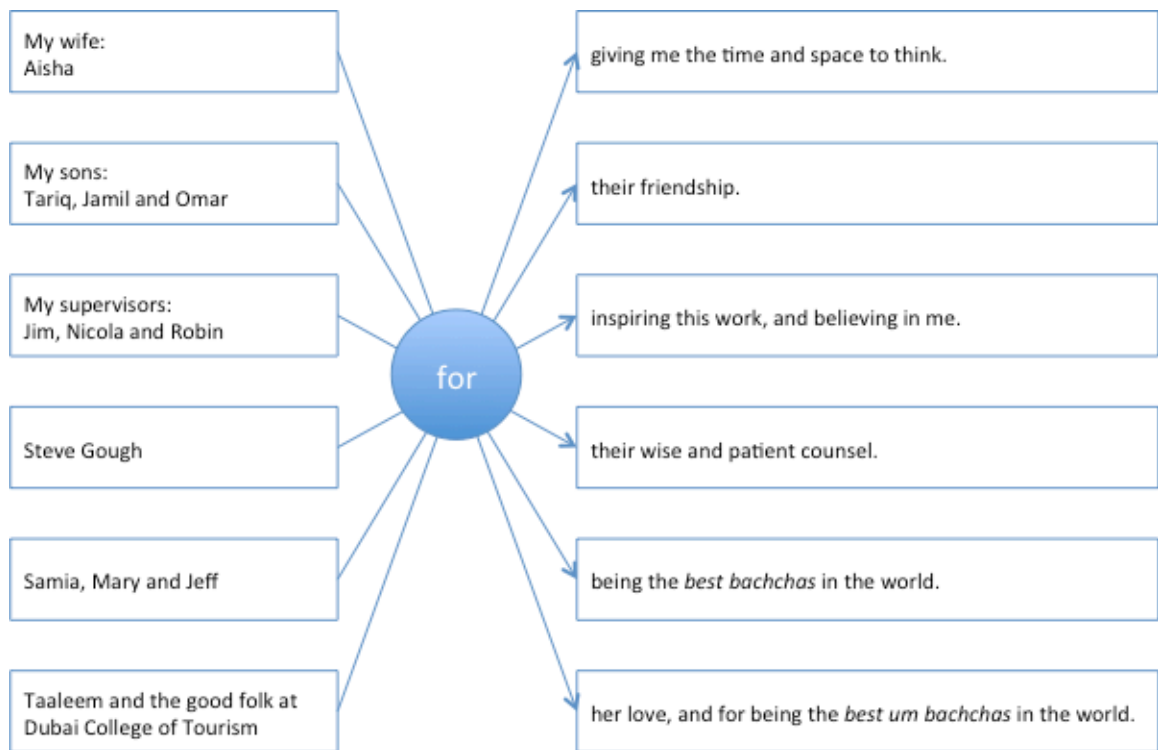
### PROLOGUE:

“In a hole in the ground there lived a [researcher]. Not a nasty, dirty, wet hole, filled with the ends of worms and an oozy smell, nor yet a dry, bare, sandy hole with nothing in it to sit down on or to eat: it was a [researcher-hole, full of theories, epistemologies and methodologies, and for a researcher] that means comfort.” (Tolkien, 1937; pp. 3 – as interpreted by Azzam)



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

I would like to thank:



I especially wish to thank the 12 research participants who took part in phase 1 of this investigation, and the 226 respondents to the phase 2 online survey. My gratitude goes to the school administrators at Al Mizhar American Academy School, Jumeira Baccalaureate School, Uptown School, Dar Al Marefa School, Al Ittihad Private School, and The International School of Choueifat. I also would like to thank KHDA's Chief of Partnership, Research and Development and Director of Research for their support during the data collection stages of my enquiry.

## DEDICATION:

In loving memory of my parents... I did it for you.

## ABSTRACT

UAE nationals ('Emiratis') constitute less than 10% of the resident population of Dubai. Despite having access to free education in the public sector, where Arabic is the medium of instruction, more Emirati families in Dubai choose to enrol their children in private schools, specifically English-medium schools, than public ones, believing that they offer better teaching and learning, better English instruction, and better school leadership. There is growing concern among policy makers and Emirati parents that young Emiratis are in danger of becoming detached from their national language and culture. The regulatory authority for private schools, the Knowledge and Human Development Authority (KHDA), is encouraging the private sector to explore bilingual educational models. This enquiry seeks to establish the type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model that would suit the needs of Emirati families and to explore the circumstances by which it can take root in Dubai's private K-12 sector. The design follows a mixed methods sequential two-phased design utilising multiple sources of data generated through: written arguments by a sample of 12 Emirati students selected from two schools (the qualitative phase), and a questionnaire directed at a broader set of Emirati students (the quantitative phase). The findings suggest a model built on four core principles: (1) explicit mention of bilingualism as a stated goal; (2) the use of Arabic and English as mediums of instruction, with subjects divided more or less equally between them; (3) the deployment of Arabic and English teachers in equal measure, or, alternatively, the utilisation of bilingual teachers; and (4) the promotion and use of Arabic in everyday tasks, both at home and in school. The findings also advocate that the model could assume any of Baker's (2011) four strong forms: *immersion*, *maintenance*, *dual language*, or *mainstream*. To bring the model to fruition the government of Dubai should consider investing in the initial training and retraining of Emirati teachers with the end goal that these teachers would populate Dubai's Arabic-English bilingual schools, while also partially funding scholarship programmes that would encourage Emirati parents to select bilingual schools over other types.

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

A mere sixty years ago Dubai was an impoverished coastal settlement with an estimated population of 20,000 to 30,000 people (Hellyer, 1998). Today it is a modern city-state with a population of 2.8 million, 91% of whom are expatriate, and a per capita GDP income of approximately 40,000 US dollars<sup>1</sup> (Dubai Statistics Centre, 2017). Dubai has, for the past five years running, topped the list of cities in Africa and the Middle East in terms of *quality of living* (74<sup>th</sup> place, globally) and *infrastructure* (51<sup>st</sup> place, globally), (Mercer, 2016). It ranks third in the world for number of skyscrapers (173, and counting), which include the world's tallest tower, *Burj Khalifa* at 830 metres, and the world's tallest hotel, the *JW Marriott Marquis*, standing 72 storeys high. According to Forbes (2016), Dubai is the fourth most visited city in the world with 15.27 million overnight visitors. However, the city-state's rapid modernisation has come at a cost, as global convergence forces threaten to impact the cultural-linguistic composition of Dubai's indigenous population (Findlow, 2006).

This chapter examines the policy of *linguistic dualism* adopted by Dubai in embracing English as the *lingua franca* of its developmental agenda, while attempting to retain its cultural identity (Clarke, 2007). Linguistic dualism is present not only in the facets of everyday interactions for a Dubai resident, but also across institutions. For instance, an Emirati or an Arab-speaking resident of the city will most likely resort to his/her command of the language when interacting with a civil servant in a government office, while an exchange with a waiter in a restaurant or a counterparty in a business transaction is likely to occur in English. In terms of institutional policies, the Ministry of Education, which oversees Dubai's state schools, uses Arabic as the medium of instruction, with English taught as a foreign language. The Ministry of Higher Education, on the other hand, which is responsible for Dubai's tertiary sector, uses English as the medium of instruction across its various state-owned universities and colleges, with the view in mind of imparting onto young Emiratis the skills (English fluency being one of them) necessary for the job market (Gallagher, 2011). This policy has greatly influenced the migration of Emirati pre-tertiary students from state schools to English-medium private schools, in an attempt by the parents of these students to improve their children's chances of pursuing a

---

<sup>1</sup> Dubai is one of seven Emirates (or city-states) that constitute the United Arab Emirates (UAE). More than 95% of the UAE's oil wealth owned by Abu Dhabi, the UAE's capital. In 2016, the UAE's per capita

tertiary degree and acquiring a rewarding job later on in their lives. For many Emirati parents, however, the choice of their children's schooling presents a difficult dilemma, at the heart of which lies the power play between two languages: Arabic, symbolising *cultural identity*, and English, symbolising *progress and modernity* (Clarke, 2007).

With the two languages, Arabic and English, seemingly at loggerheads, the chapter introduces the aim of the enquiry (namely, to establish the type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model that would suit the needs of Emirati families and the circumstances required for such a model to be realised within Dubai's private K-12 sector), its objectives and research questions, and concludes with a brief overview of the methodology adopted.

### *1.1 Linguistic Dualism in Dubai*

The government of Dubai's desire to expedite the city-state's development required en-masse importation of Western know-how and expertise, which led to an urgent demand to grow and develop a workforce that could quickly adapt to the new demands of its rapidly modernising economy (Gardner, 1995). Faced with the need to import the vast majority of its labour force, while simultaneously investing in educating its local population, the usefulness of English, being the "language of globalisation" (Carli *et. al.*, 2003; pp. 865), came to the forefront as a tool in facilitating Dubai's route towards modernisation (Karmani, 2005). Although the rise in prominence of English can be framed within the backdrop of immigration, in the case of Dubai and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) as a whole, the context is in fact much wider than this, as it needs to take into account the fact that the country itself was changing, and that the younger generation was being exposed to 'otherness' in ways that previous generations had never experienced (Findlow, 2006).

It is important to recognise the importance of Arabic to Emiratis, as the instrument connecting them with Islam and the pan-Arab movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Findlow, 2006). The UAE Constitution is very clear on this point:

The Union (the UAE) is a part of the great Arab Nation, attached to it by the ties of religion, language, history and common destiny. The people of the Union are one people, and one part of the Arab Nation. ... Islam is the official religion of the Union. The Islamic Shari'a shall be a main

source of legislation in the Union. The official language of the Union shall be Arabic.” (Article 7, Provisional Constitution, 1972, subsequently ratified as permanent)

The reference to “religion, language, history and common destiny” in the UAE Constitution helps provide insight into what the term *cultural identity* means to Emiratis (or at least the ‘official’ definition sought by the founders of the country) and explains why Clarke (2007) considers Arabic as symbolising Emirati cultural identity, as mentioned earlier in this chapter. In this context, culture takes on a broader definition than simple ethnicity, encapsulating the aspects of human existence that relate to knowledge, laws and customs, values and belief systems that are cherished by a group or people (Tyler, 1951).

The juxtaposition between Dubai’s deeply-rooted belief in its Arab identity (or more accurately, its cultural identity which is closely linked with the Arabic language) as expressed in the UAE Constitution, and its openness to the forces of globalisation has led to a policy of *linguistic dualism*, whereby “English is associated with business, modernity, and internationalism”, and Arabic is associated with “religion, tradition and localism” (Clarke, 2007; pp. 584). This is further compounded by the colonial legacy in the region, which had relegated Arabic to an inferior status, as a symbol of nostalgia, while the colonial languages (English and French) were accorded higher status, symbolising an openness to the world and to progress (Davison, 2008).

With linguistic dualism looms the spectre of *language shift* (Fishman, 1991). Language and culture are deeply intertwined; language being the unique way that the people who speak it express how they view the world (Boas, 1940; Sapir, 1949; Whorf, 1956). The Marxian paradigm sees language shift as a natural and inevitable consequence of the socio-economic development of a country (Brenzinger, 1992). Of course there is a sinister side to the phenomenon, in which an external agency imposes its will for its own political and economic benefit. In this world-view, language becomes a tool of *symbolic violence* (Bourdieu, 1991). In the case of Dubai, language and culture can be construed as being fluid and constantly evolving, as the indigenous (Emirati) population within the city-state negotiates its place within the global-local dynamic (Findlow, 2006). This ‘pragmatic’ world-view is grounded by the reality of Dubai being home to citizens of more than 200 countries. English is the pragmatic choice of language that allows all these people to communicate. As for the 230,000 (or thereabouts) Emiratis who constitute Dubai’s indigenous population, turning away from English means being isolated from the majority of society, and, increasingly, abandoning any prospects of

contributing meaningfully to Dubai's drive towards developing a strong, service-based economy (please refer to the 'Context' chapter for further details). The key challenge for this segment of Dubai society is to resolve the opposing demands of cultural identity and native language preservation with the normalising forces of globalisation and English (Canagarajah, 1999). Within such volatile contexts, "language education policies and practices especially take on a particular significance" (Clarke, 2007; pp. 583).

The argument in favour of the introduction of some form of bilingual educational model to serve the needs of Emirati families is compelling. According to Findlow (2006): "The ability to tap into bilingual resources, to use language (after Finlayson *et. al.*, 1998; pp. 395) as both an 'index of identity and a tool of communication' is what has enabled citizens to negotiate rapid socio-political, cultural and economic change in the creation of appropriately hybrid, transitional collective identities" (quotation marks in the original; pp. 34). Karmani (2005; pp. 101) goes a step further in recommending the exploration of "language education policy and planning solutions that are locally based and help maintain and indeed promote Arab-Islamic values". Precisely what bilingual education means within the context of Dubai, the type of bilingual educational model that can gain acceptance from Emirati families within the consumer-driven and highly competitive landscape of Dubai's private educational system, and the pre-conditions that must be present for it to come into existence and succeed is the focus of the current enquiry.

## *1.2 Research Objectives and Research Questions*

This study seeks to explore the views and priorities, hopes and fears of Emirati students, aged 15 to 18, in relation to the existing power play between two languages, Arabic and English, with the aim of establishing the type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model that would suit their needs and the circumstances by which it can take root and flourish in Dubai's private K-12 sector. Private schools, the majority of which are operated on a for-profit basis, account for 90% of Dubai's total pre-tertiary student population and 56% of the Emirati student market (please refer to the 'Context' chapter for further details). Any hope of redressing the balance between Arabic and English within the language policies of private schools, which in the current state of affairs overwhelmingly favour English over Arabic, therefore requires an understanding of the position of the Emirati education consumer, in particular Emirati students.

The enquiry has two key objectives:

- Firstly, to explore how bilingual education is viewed by Emirati students who are in private education in Dubai, and subsequently to establish the type of Arabic-English bilingual model that would be accepted by them.
- Secondly, should the shared sentiment of these students prove to be in favour of bilingual education, to identify the conditions needed to encourage the realisation of this type of schooling and to ensure its future success within Dubai's private K-12 education sector.

In line with the above objectives, the overarching research question is: *What type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model could be developed and implemented in Dubai's private K-12 sector?*

Many groups within Dubai's education landscape, besides Emirati students, have a stake in this topic, and their ideas would undoubtedly contribute to our understanding of how an Arabic-English bilingual model may fit into this landscape, if at all. These groups include parents, teachers, school leaders, owners and operators, non-Emirati students (who make up over 88% of Dubai's private K-12 student population) in addition to policy makers and regulators. In practice, however, an exploration of the views of all these various stakeholders would have expanded the scope of the study beyond reason, at least from the perspective of an EdD dissertation. Ultimately, I had to decide between breadth and depth, and I chose the latter. Among all the stakeholders involved, students are the most affected by the language policies of their schools, and yet the student voice often takes a back seat to that of parents and education professionals. The current enquiry attempts to address this incongruity by seeking the perspective of Dubai's native student population, while (aspirationally, at least) laying down the foundations for future research studies investigating similar themes in which the perspectives of the remaining stakeholders are explored (please refer to the 'Reflections and Areas for Future Research' chapter).

The enquiry's main research question gives rise to the following subsidiary questions:

- (1) *What are the prevailing attitudes towards Arabic and English among Emirati students in private education?*

- (2) *How do Emirati students perceive the status afforded to Arabic and English within Dubai's private education sector?*
- (3) *What role does Arabic diglossia play in the linguistic contestation and accommodation of an Emirati student's existence?*
- (4) *What are the perceptions among Emirati students of the benefits of bilingual education?*
- (5) *What are the key components of Dubai's Arabic-English bilingual model?*
- (6) *Is there only one suitable type of bilingual model, or multiple variants of it?*
- (7) *What are the obstacles and opportunities for the model to take root and succeed?*
- (8) *Should the model be offered universally or by choice? Should it be selective or inclusive?*

The main research question that this enquiry seeks to answer is intrinsically both *exploratory* and *confirmatory*, necessitating a two-phased mixed methods sequential architecture to the research strategy (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009), as detailed in the 'Methodology' chapter. Implicit in the question is the dual language dilemma faced by Dubai's Emirati society: the pull towards Arabic driven by the desire of Emirati families to preserve their native language (Kenaid, 2011), versus the push towards the acquisition of English imposed by the requirements of the job market and everyday interactions (Clarke, 2007). While the question assumes that bilingual education may help bring more 'equity' to the prevailing imbalance between Arabic and English in the language policies of Dubai's private education sector, currently dominated by English-medium schools, it makes no presumptions on the type of bilingual model that best suits Dubai's needs, leaving that to be reasoned from an exploration of the opinions of the Emirati students participating in the investigation along the enquiry lines suggested by the subsidiary questions.

Phase 1 of the design (the qualitative phase) explores these questions through engagement with 12 Emirati students, aged between 15 and 18 years, attending two private schools in Dubai (please refer to section 4.3 of the 'Methodology' chapter for a detailed description of the research design and its participants). During this phase, the student participants were expected to complete a 'Background Survey', composed of closed-ended questions that probe their use of language, as well as their attitudes towards Arabic and English, before being asked to compose 700 to 800-word essays presenting their arguments on the themes introduced by the enquiry. In phase 2 (the quantitative phase), 'tension statements' in the format of an online



questionnaire derived from coding of the student essays collected in phase 1 into 'loose networks' (Gough & Scott, 2000) were put, initially, to the same students who had participated in phase 1, and subsequently to a much broader participant group of 15 to 18 year-old Emiratis enrolled in six private schools. Through this two-pronged design, the enquiry adopted methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1978), as a means to broaden scope by capturing a wider diversity of views and opinions, while ensuring that the student voice took centre stage in all data collection activities.

## CHAPTER 2: CONTEXT

This chapter examines the circumstances and main policy decisions that have helped shape Dubai's rapid advancement over the past six decades in terms of its economy in general (section 2.2), and educational landscape in particular (section 2.3). Section 2.4 provides a summarised overview of language provision and policies in Dubai's private schools, which have led to the dilemma faced by Emirati parents in selecting schools for their children (the pull towards Arabic motivated by a desire to preserve their native language, versus the push towards English driven by the forces of globalisation), alluded to in the 'Introduction' chapter. Section 2.5 showcases, in brief, examples of Arabic-English bilingual schools operating in the Arab region, while section 2.6 introduces the two Dubai-based schools selected to participate in phase 1 of this enquiry. The chapter opens with a synopsis of Dubai's history.

### *2.1 A Brief History of Dubai*

Little is known about Dubai's ancient history, as few archaeological artefacts have been discovered. However, there is evidence to suggest that the area we now call Dubai was inhabited by nomadic camel herders as far back as 5000 BC (Millar, 2015). Islam came to the region in the year 630 AD during the Umayyad Caliphate (Bey, 1996). The earliest mention of Dubai in western records dates back to 1590 AD in *Voyage to the Oriental Indies* by the Venetian pearl trader Gasparo Balbi (Balbi, 1590). Throughout the 1700s and early 1800s, Dubai had a small but growing population of fisherman and tradesmen from the Bani Yas tribe, who were considered subjects of the ruler of Abu Dhabi (Abu Dhabi is another coastal town off the Arabian Gulf, some 140 km southwest of Dubai), (Hellyer, 1998). In 1833, Sheikh Maktoum bin Butti and a number of his clansmen seceded from Abu Dhabi's authority and settled in Dubai (Ramos, 2010). Sheikh Maktoum's descendants continue to rule Dubai to this day.

Dubai's close geographical proximity to Iran made it an important centre for trade (Eigner & Sampler, 2003). By the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Dubai had established itself as a successful transshipment (or re-export) port, aided by the creek running through the city, which served as a natural harbour for fishing, pearling and seafaring trade (Al-Abed & Hellyer, 2001). In the 1950s the creek began to silt. Realising the inherent threat in this to Dubai's main livelihood, the then ruler of Dubai, Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum, embarked on an extensive and

very costly endeavour of dredging and widening the waterway. The risk he took paid off, as Dubai's enhanced cargo handling capacity increased its wealth and strengthened its position within the region as a key trading and re-export hub. With the discovery of oil in 1966, more ambitious infrastructure projects followed, and at breakneck speed: Dubai International Airport had a new terminal building and its runway extended, Jebel Ali port (the largest manmade harbour in the world) was created, while schools, hospitals, road and telecommunication networks tried to keep pace. This was part of a deliberate strategy adopted by Sheikh Rashid of investing in infrastructure as a means of diversifying Dubai's economy away from its limited and fast depleting oil reserves. Oil's contribution to Dubai's GDP stood at 24% in 1990; in 2016, this figure had dropped to approximately 1% (Dubai's Statistics Centre, 2017).

The so called 'British mandate' in the region dates back to 1820 when a peace treaty was signed by all coastal rulers ('Sheikhs'), ending decades of piracy raids on British merchant ships by local tribesmen, and initiating an informal protectorate by Great Britain (Al Qasimi, 1986). When the British government in 1968 announced its timetable to withdraw from what was then known as the 'Trucial States' (a collective of seven independent 'Sheikhdoms' or 'Emirates': Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ra's al-Khaimah, Umm al-Quwain, Fujairah and Ajman), the ruler of Abu Dhabi, Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, along with Dubai's ruler, Sheikh Rashid bin Saeed Al Maktoum, called for the formation of a federation comprising not only the seven Emirates that together made up the Trucial States, but also Qatar and Bahrain (Hawley, 1970). An agreement was reached between the rulers of six of the Emirates (Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Umm al-Quwain, Fujairah and Ajman), and the federation to be known as the United Arab Emirates (UAE) was established on December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1971, (Peck, 1986). Ra's al-Khaimah joined the new federation in February 1972 (National Archives, 2017).

## *2.2 Dubai and the Capitalist Developmental State Paradigm*

Dubai's extraordinary transformation over the past 60 years can be examined using the *capitalist developmental state* paradigm, where the state is the key driving force behind economic development (Lauridson, 1995). According to Hvidt (2009):

Developmental states are furthermore characterised by an active and interventionist role for governments in the pursuit of a strong developmental agenda. A deeply felt urge to 'catch up' to

colonial masters, and the developed world in general, is often a central motivation for this (quotation marks in the original; pp. 399).

*Embedded autonomy* is a defining characteristic of developmental states (Evans, 1989). The term refers to the situation where the state, albeit autonomous in deciding its strategic aims and the areas of economic development it wishes to prioritise, remains entrenched in the main economic activities of the private sector, through its close ties with the leaders of industry and commerce. The concept of embedded autonomy is an important one to bear in mind for the current enquiry. As argued in the 'Discussion' chapter, for a bilingual Arabic-English educational model to establish a presence and have the desired impact on Emirati families, there will need to be an alignment of interests between the government of Dubai and private investors in education.

Capitalist developmental states are generally associated with East Asian countries, beginning with Japan in the 1920s, and later spreading to the city-states of Singapore and Hong Kong, and more recently South Korea and Taiwan (Wade & White, 1988). The Japanese developmental state model is a pragmatic mix of state sponsorship and private enterprise, and has two major components to it, with multinational corporations playing a pivotal role on both fronts: (1) huge spending on capital-intensive industries sourced mainly through foreign direct investment and, (2) focus on export of manufactured goods that are labour intensive (Looney, 2003). Taiwan, South Korea and to a large extent China have followed a similar path. Dubai, being a small city-state, followed a different developmental course, which Haggard (1990) calls *entrepôt growth*<sup>2</sup>, modelled closely around the examples of Singapore and Hong Kong. Hvidt (2009) postulates that *entrepôts* bypass the whole developmental journey from an agricultural base to industrialisation to services, typical of many advanced economies (Kuznets, 1973), and instead "develop large service and commercial sectors in line with their functions as intermediaries between primary-exporting hinterlands and regional, imperial, and world economies" (pp. 400). Armed with an interventionist, centralised and highly efficient style of governance and a strong vision for the future, and fuelled by investment of whatever oil wealth it had into economic activities that supported existing commercial and service-oriented industries, Dubai was able to leapfrog from being a pearling and trading centre to a service hub

---

<sup>2</sup> *An entrepôt may be defined as a port, city, or other centre to which goods are brought for import and export, and for collection and distribution.*

of global stature. Other factors that have helped accelerate this development include: (1) access to surplus capital from the region, (2) an attractive lifestyle, (3) aggressive branding, and (4) a flexible, mostly imported labour market (Azzam, 2017).

### *2.3 Dubai's K-12 Education Landscape*

Like the city itself, Dubai's pre-tertiary education system has undergone remarkable growth in 60 years. Up until the mid-1950s, Dubai had but 200 odd students attending a single formal school, *Al'Ahmadiyah*, which is believed to have been established in 1910 (Alhebsi, Pettaway & Waller, 2015). In contrast, in 2017 Dubai had 276 international schools<sup>3</sup>, the highest of any city in the world (ISC, 2018). Over the past 20 years, the number of students enrolled in Dubai's K-12 sector (both public and private) has almost tripled, from 113,866 students in 1996 to 303,036 students in 2016 (Dubai Statistics Centre, 2017). However, the narrative around Dubai's education system is not all about growth and progress. In contrast to the rapid expansion of the private K-12 education sector, public schools have stagnated. In 1996, public education accounted for 34% of Dubai's pre-tertiary student population; today it accounts for only 10%. Enrolment in public schools has actually decreased during the past 20 years, from 38,756 students in 1996 to 29,437 students in 2016, while the student population in private schools has risen from 75,110 to 273,599 during the same period, amounting to a 364% growth (Dubai Statistics Centre, 2017). Perhaps the most noteworthy trend during the past 20 years is the exodus of Emirati students from public to private schooling. In 1996, only 25% of Emiratis attended private schools; by 2016, that percentage had grown to 56%<sup>4</sup>.

The first private schools in Dubai were established to serve the needs of its nascent expatriate community (Hayden & Thompson, 1998). One such example is the Dubai English Speaking School (DESS). Founded in 1963, the school offers the National Curriculum for England from Foundation Stage to Year 6, with priority for admissions given to children of British descent. Until Dubai College opened its doors in 1978, offering Years 7 to 13, most British expatriate families (by far the predominant European demographic amongst Dubai's resident population) whose children had completed Year 6 at DESS were forced to send their children to boarding

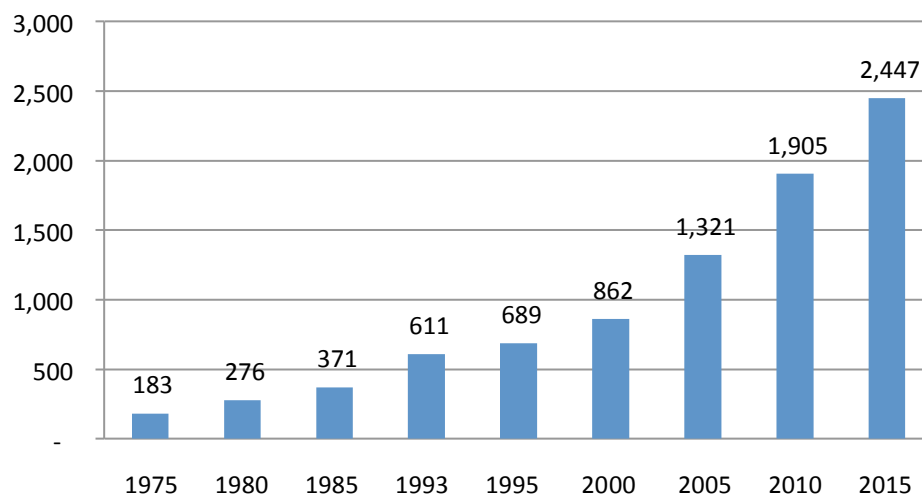
---

<sup>3</sup> *The International School Consultancy (ISC) includes early childhood facilities (which are essentially day-care centres) in their research. With the exception of this single citation from ISC, all statistics pertaining to Dubai's K-12 sector in this study exclude early childhood facilities.*

<sup>4</sup> *The reasons for this trend are explained a little later in this section.*

school in the United Kingdom or elsewhere. Alongside DESS and Dubai College stood other expatriate community schools such as the American School of Dubai (est. 1966) and The Indian High School (est. 1961). Although serving different groups within Dubai's expatriate population, these schools shared the common features of being community-owned and not-for-profit. The schools did and continue to charge tuition fees, but at the time of their establishment (and to this day), most student fees were paid through sponsorship by the multinational companies that either partly/wholly owned the schools or otherwise employed the parents of the children on roll. With limited reach and ambition, and its reliance on corporate support, the not-for-profit model could not keep pace with the exponential growth of Dubai's population, driven primarily by immigration (see Figure 1 below).

**Figure 1: Dubai's Population Trend (1975 to 2015) – Dubai Statistics Centre (2017)**  
'000 people



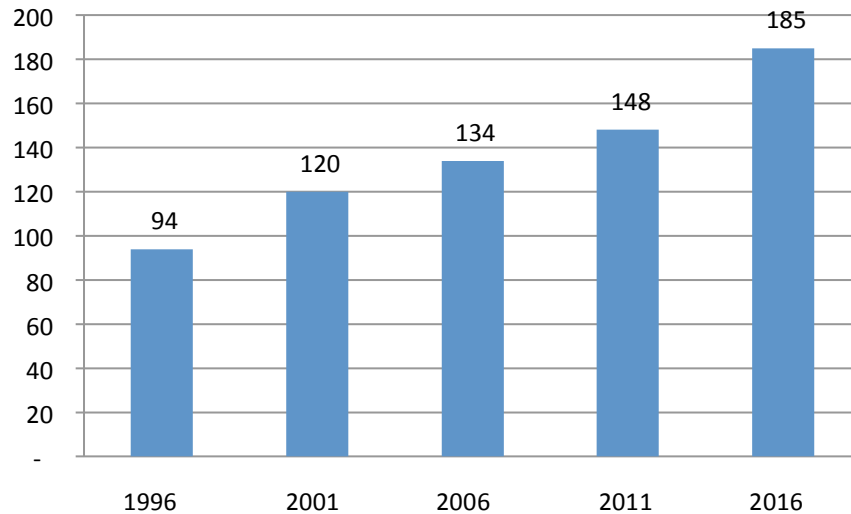
With access to public (or state-owned) schools being largely limited to Emirati nationals only<sup>5</sup>, coupled with the not-for-profit sector's inadequate supply of seats, members of Dubai's growing expatriate community had to turn elsewhere for their children's educational needs.

<sup>5</sup> A long-standing policy of the UAE is the provision of public education (primary, secondary and tertiary) free of charge exclusively to UAE citizens. Historically, exceptions were only made for expatriate children whose parents either worked for the Ministry of Education or were otherwise stationed in remote/rural areas where access to private schooling would have been impossible. Faced with rapid decline in enrollments as more and more Emirati parents chose private education for their children, public schools have, over the past 10 years, begun to accept non-Emirati children against an annual fee. In spite of this, the number of expatriate students enrolled in Dubai's public schools has dropped from 12,221 in 1996 to 4,341 in 2015.

Today, all but a few of the 185 private schools operating in Dubai do so on a *for-profit* basis; in other words, they are either owned or operated by private, profit-seeking enterprises. Private schools have flourished over the past 20 years, almost doubling in number (see Figure 2 below), and now account for 90% of the K-12 sector (see Figure 3 below).

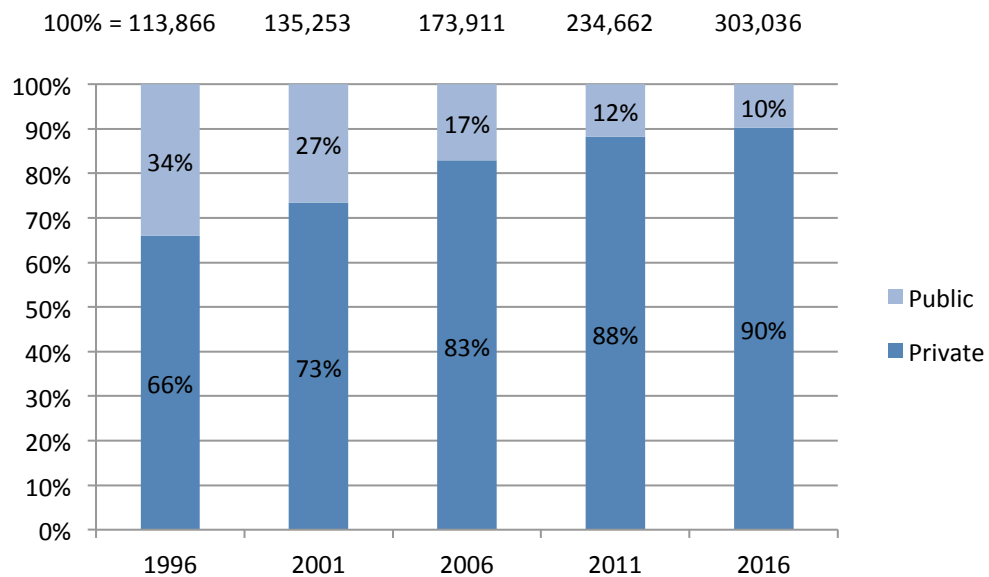
**Figure 2: Dubai's Private Schools Trend (1996 to 2016) – Dubai Statistics Centre (2017)**

No. of Private Schools Operating in Dubai



**Figure 3: Private VS Public Education Trend (1996 to 2016) – Dubai Statistics Centre (2017)**

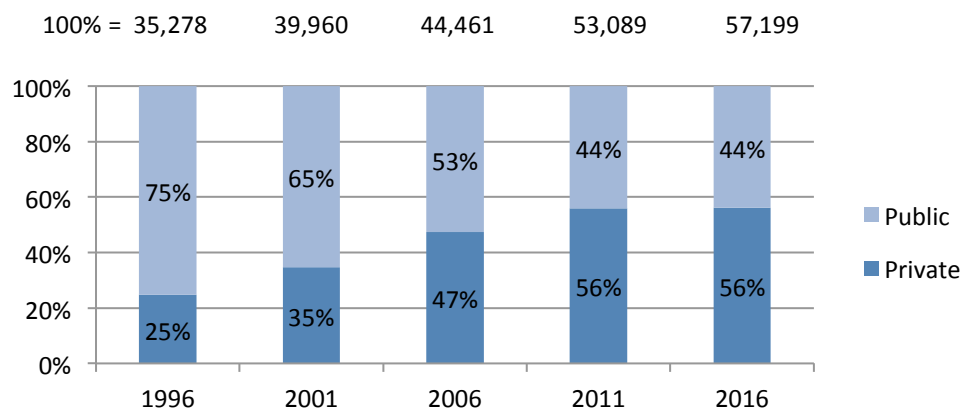
Percentage of Students Attending Private Versus Public Schools in Dubai



Besides population growth, one of the factors that has contributed to the predominance of private over public education in Dubai is the establishment of the Knowledge and Human Development Authority (KHDA) in 2007. Prior to that year, Dubai's education system, both private and public, was in the hands of the Ministry of Education (MOE), a federal body, which had sole authority in terms of setting policy and regulating the K-12 sector across the seven Emirates (Azzam, 2017). In relation to private education, the MOE had a long-standing policy of allowing the sector to grow organically with little regulatory interference. The KHDA, which oversees private schools only, took a much more proactive approach to regulating the market, with growth being one of its two strategic priorities<sup>6</sup>. To achieve its desired rate of growth for the sector, the KHDA encouraged private investment by relaxing some of the policies it had inherited from the MOE, such as limiting ownership and the issuance of school licenses to Emirati individuals or Emirati wholly owned establishments (Azzam, 2016). This partly explains why 37 new schools have opened in the last five years, compared to only 28 new schools during the preceding 10 years (see Figure 2 above).

Despite having access to free education in the state system, more Emirati parents elect to pay fees by choosing private education over state education for their children. This was not always the case: 20 years ago, only 25% of Emirati students were enrolled in private schools compared to 56% today (please refer to Figure 4 below).

**Figure 4: Emirati Student Population (1996 to 2016) – Dubai Statistics Centre (2017)**  
Percentage of Emirati Students Attending Private Versus Public Schools in Dubai



<sup>6</sup> KHDA's second strategic priority was quality of provision, which it sought to achieve through the establishment of a school inspections arm, the Dubai School Inspections Bureau (DSIB).



A 2011 research report entitled *"In Search of Good Education – Why Emirati Parents Choose Private Schools in Dubai"*, published jointly by CfBT Education Trust and the KHDA, identifies three major factors that influence Emirati parents' choice of private over public education: (1) a perception that private schools provide better teaching and learning, (2) better English language instruction, and (3) better school leadership (Kenaid, 2011). Other reasons include socio-economic influences, driven by the desire of these parents to assimilate their children within a wealthier segment of Dubai's society. The author of the report selected 10 private schools of the type preferred by UAE families. 75 Emirati parents took part in the study, all of whom had a child in kindergarten and were looking to place him/her in Grade 1 the following academic year. The report claims a strong correlation between its own findings and those obtained from an Emirati parent survey conducted independently by the KHDA over a three-year period (2009 to 2011), in which 50% of respondents quoted 'better quality teaching and learning', 22% quoted 'better English language instruction', and 10% quoted 'better leadership' as reasons for choosing a private school over a government one (KHDA, 2012).

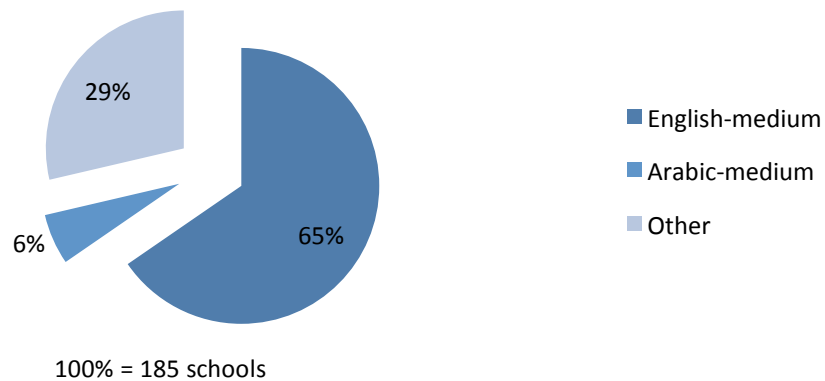
In March 2017, the ruler of Dubai launched the Mohammed bin Rashid Distinguished Students Programme (MBR-DSP), through which high-achieving Emirati public school students would be offered government scholarships to study in some of Dubai's private schools (Dubai Government Media Office, 2017). In a press statement the KHDA's CEO, Fatma Al Marri, described the programme as a "stepping-stone towards a better future for UAE nationals", adding that: "we have been able to bring together some of the best private schools in Dubai to support this important initiative and provide access to high-quality education for Emirati students" (Clarke K., 2017). 550 students from the public sector and 18 private schools took part in the programme's inaugural academic year, 2017-18. The MBR-DSP initiative promises to further accelerate the flight of Emiratis from public to private schools, draining the former of its brightest minds.

#### *2.4 Language Provision in Dubai Schools*

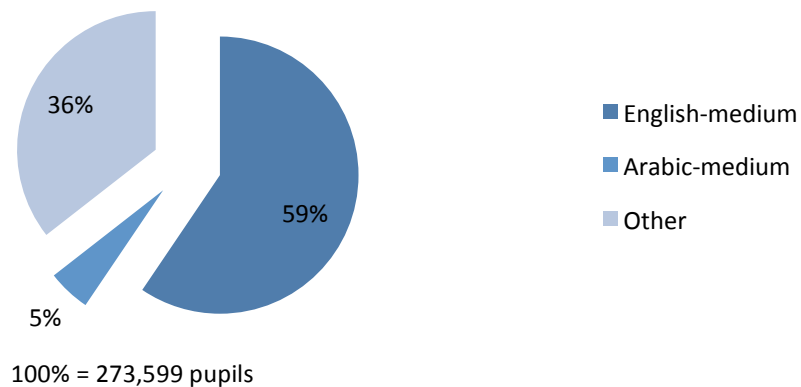
In 2016, Dubai had 77 public schools: 12 kindergartens, 23 primary schools (or so called 'Cycle 1' schools), 19 middle ('Cycle 2') schools, 22 secondary schools and 1 religious school (MOE, 2017). All public schools offer the UAE National Curriculum, in which the majority of subjects are taught in Arabic, with the exception of English which is introduced as a second language as

early as Grade 1 and runs through to Grade 12, the last year of secondary education. In contrast, Dubai's private schools offer 16 different curricula: the National Curriculum for England (NCE), Indian, American (US), the International Baccalaureate (IB), the UAE National Curriculum (UAEMoE), SABIS, French, Philippine, Pakistani, Iranian, Institute of Applied Technology (IAT), German, Russian, Canadian, Special KG and Japanese (KHDA, 2017). Of the 16 types, five are considered English-medium, where all subjects, except for Arabic and 'foreign languages' are taught in English. These are: NCE, American (US), IB, SABIS and Canadian. English-medium schools account for 65% of all private schools operating in Dubai (see Figure 5 below) and 59% of all students enrolled in the private sector (see Figure 6).

**Figure 5: Dubai's Private Schools by Curriculum Type (2016-17) – KHDA (2017)**



**Figure 6: Dubai's Private Sector Student Population by Curriculum Type (2016-17) – KHDA (2017)**



Almost two-thirds of Emirati students in private education are enrolled in schools that offer the American (US) curriculum, 15% are enrolled in NCE schools, 2% are in IB schools and 1% in the two SABIS schools (KHDA, 2017). This means that more than 80% of Emirati students in private education attend English-medium schools. In these schools, all subjects are taught in English with the exception of: Arabic language instruction for native and non-native speakers, Islamic studies for Arabic native speakers only, and Arabic social studies for Arab native speakers only; all three being federally mandated. Additionally, many English-medium schools offer foreign languages such as French, German or Spanish. An Arab native speaker in an English-medium school in the primary years (age 5 to 11) or the middle years (age 12 to 16) would, at best, be exposed to his/her native language in a classroom setting for about 22% to 25% of the school week. In post-16 education, this percentage can drop to zero, as UAE law does not require private schools to provide Arabic language instruction beyond Grade 9. This means that more than 80% of Emirati children enrolled in private schools or, equivalently, 46% of Dubai's total Emirati K-12 student population, spend on average 75% or more of their time in school learning in English (Azzam, 2013).

According to Kenaid (2011), all 75 parents who took part in her focus group interviews cited English language as a reason for selecting a private school over a public one, believing it to be of vital importance for their children's future prospects. Two reasons were given. The first is entry into a university, whether local or overseas. The report quotes one parent:

After graduating from Grade 12 we are reassured that our children will pass the university entrance exam. No one will ask them about Arabic language or Islamic studies (Kenaid, 2011; pp. 23).

The other reason is the prevalence of English in the workplace, as testified by another study participant:

I work in a human resources department and English language is a job requirement. The first thing they ask about in a job interview is proficiency in English language (Kenaid, 2011; pp. 23).

However, while there is no denying these parents' conviction of the importance of English to their children's future, it was clear to Kenaid that the participants in her focus group also struggled with the notion of mother-tongue attrition. She quotes two of them:

Everyone would agree that Arabic language is most important. It is just difficult to find all elements in one school. You give up something for another.

Some of the children of my relatives and friends speak very good English and they don't know the simplest vocabulary in Arabic. It is a shame. (Kenaid, 2011; pp. 24)

The concerns of these parents resonate with many segments of Emirati society and with some of its most prominent institutions, not the least of which are the ruling family and the KHDA. In 2012, through the office of the ruler Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, Dubai announced a series of government-funded schemes intended to cultivate the Arabic language among Dubai's younger generation, as a way to preserve cultural identity. These schemes included the establishment of a faculty of translation at the Mohammed bin Rashid Media College, as well as the introduction of various poetry, reading and calligraphy competitions across Dubai schools. In 2015, Sheikh Mohammed challenged a million children in the Arab world to read 50 Arabic books each, while allotting a rewards purse of three million U.S. Dollars for teachers, students and their families (Azzam, 2016). In its turn, the KHDA (2015b) published a report reflecting on seven years of school inspections in which it highlighted the slow rate of progress made in the quality of provision of Arabic language across most private schools, including those that had achieved an overall 'Outstanding' rating. The report states:

Research has shown the benefits of bilingualism on students' intellectual, social and educational development. It points out that students who learn English and continue to develop their native language tend to have higher academic achievement in later years than do students who learn English at the expense of their first language. It is therefore crucial that Emirati and Arab students receive good quality provision of Arabic as a first language, not only to preserve their identity, self-esteem, heritage and culture but also to allow them to develop intellectually and academically (KHDA, 2015b; pp. 16).

## *2.5 Examples of Arabic-English Bilingual Schools in the Arab Region*

Several long-standing private schools exist in the Arabian Gulf and the wider Arab region, tracing their origins to the late 1970s/early 1980s, which offer Arabic-English bilingual education. They include: Al-Bayan Bilingual School in Kuwait (est. 1977), Amman Baccalaureate School in Jordan (est. 1981), The Bahrain Bayan School in Bahrain (est. 1982) and Ibn Khuldoon National School in Bahrain (est. 1983). Although these schools operate completely

independently of one another and have evolved over the past three to four decades to suit the needs of their own parent and local communities, they do share five key common features:

- (1) A *raison d'être* that aims to fuse Western-style education (through offering the International Baccalaureate programmes and/or seeking accreditation by one or more of the leading international accreditation bodies such as the New England Association of Schools and Colleges, NEASC, or the Council of International Schools, CIS) with Arab and Islamic values and traditions.
- (2) Use of the term 'bilingual education' explicitly in their narrative. As a case in point, The Bahrain Bayan School's mission statement reads as follows: "The school provides students with a comprehensive bilingual education, rooted in Arab identity and Bahraini culture. We develop internationally minded students with confidence in their abilities who embrace their responsibilities as national and global citizens" (BBS, 2017).
- (3) Substantial instructional time being allotted to teaching subjects using Arabic as a medium of instruction, especially in the primary years, where instructional time in Arabic and English is given almost equal weighting.
- (4) A student body that is predominantly native to the country, complemented by a smaller percentage of expatriate students who are native speakers of Arabic.
- (5) A faculty body composed of a blend of Western or Western-educated teachers and Arab teachers who are, themselves, bilingual.

All four schools mentioned above operate on a not-for-profit basis. The relatively high tuition fees they charge means that lower middle-income families are effectively excluded from them. To address this difficulty the trusts that oversee the schools organise scholarship schemes intended to attract the brightest minds from the less affluent segments of society.

Although a few private schools in Dubai may have one or two characteristics in common with the bilingual schools mentioned above, none of them have marshalled all the five key features that collectively define the prevailing profile of the Arabic-English bilingual model in the Arab region. Consider Al Ittihad Private School (AIPS) as a case in point. Established by royal decree in 1975, the school's original purpose was to serve the needs of Emirati children from mixed marriages, namely, Emirati father, non-Arab mother (Azzam, 2013). Despite having a student

population which is overwhelmingly Emirati, and a faculty that is composed mainly of Arab bilingual expatriates, the school makes no attempt to extend the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction outside the standard triumvirate of subjects, namely: Arabic language, Islamic studies or Arabic social studies (AIPS, 2017). Dubai National School (*est.* 1988) is another predominantly Emirati (by student account) and Arab (on account of its teaching staff who are mostly Arab and bilingual) operating an English-medium educational model. Like AIPS, Dubai National School (DNS) is accredited jointly by NEASC and CIS. Unlike AIPS, which is silent on the topic, DNS makes explicit reference to Islamic values in its philosophy statement:

There is a strong emphasis on teaching Muslim students to live in the Islamic faith within the context of the American Education Program with a vision of internationally-minded future leaders (DNS, 2017).

In its 2015 inspections report of the school, the KHDA states the following: “students showed an outstanding level of understanding of Islamic values, the heritage and culture of the UAE and an awareness of other global cultures” (KHDA, 2015c; pp. 5). Neither AIPS nor DNS mentions bilingualism as a goal, nor indeed, do any of the remaining 183 private schools in existence in Dubai. As such, it can perhaps be said that these schools represent a missed opportunity for an Arabic-English bilingual programme to be instituted in Dubai.

## *2.6 Profiling Al Mizhar American Academy School & Dubai International Private School*

The Al Mizhar American Academy (AAM) and Dubai International Private School in Garhoud (DIS) were selected to take part in phase 1 of this enquiry for two reasons. Firstly, they belong to the category of Dubai-based private schools that is popular with Emiratis, namely English-medium schools offering an American (US) curriculum. As mentioned in section 2.4, almost two-thirds of Emirati children in private education attend American (US) curriculum schools. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that during the academic year 2016-17, the largest nationality group in both these schools was Emirati: 66% in the case of AAM and 40% at DIS. The second reason for selecting these two schools has to do with access, and is therefore purely driven by practicality. I am a shareholder in, as well as being the founding Chief Executive Officer of, Taaleem, the company that owns and operates AAM. I continue to serve on the Board of Directors of Taaleem. One of my colleagues on the board owns DIS in his personal capacity.

These facts facilitated initial contact with the two schools, although, of course, as I explain in the ‘Methodology’ chapter, they did not necessarily guarantee the participation of students in the research, since participation was voluntary and contingent on parental approval<sup>7</sup>.

While, ostensibly, sharing a common curriculum, AAM and DIS have more divergent characteristics that set them apart than they have similarities. Brief sketches of the two schools are provided in Appendix 6.

\* \* \*

In summary, Dubai’s remarkable transformation from a poor coastal settlement of 20,000 to 30,000 people in the early 1950’s into a modern city-state with a population of 2.8 million in 2017 can be analysed using the *capitalist developmental state* paradigm, in which the state plays a key and active role in driving a strong economic modernisation and growth agenda (Cumings, 1999). As such, Dubai’s developmental path parallels that of two other *entrepôt* states, Hong Kong and Singapore (Haggard, 1990). Dubai’s education sector, however, has taken a very different developmental route to that of Hong Kong and Singapore, as the city-state has all but outsourced its educational system to the for-profit private sector<sup>8</sup>. Private schools account for 90% of Dubai’s overall student population, and 56% of its Emirati student population (Dubai Statistics Center, 2017). The language policies of most of Dubai’s private schools favour English over Arabic, as school owners and operators perceive English-medium instruction as having the lion’s share of consumer demand. Emirati parents are caught between a desire for their children to receive an education that will stand them in good stead in their tertiary educational aspirations and their professional careers, compelling them into choosing English-medium private schools, and a concern over ‘losing Arabic’ (Kenaid, 2011). There is a growing fear among policy makers and Emirati parents that young Emiratis are in danger of losing touch with their native language. The regulatory authority for private schools in Dubai, the KHDA, is encouraging the private sector to explore bilingual educational models (KHDA, 2015b). Although a few prominent examples of bilingual Arabic-English schools exist in the Arab region that can serve as possible archetypes or templates, no private school in Dubai has, to date, followed in their footsteps.

---

<sup>7</sup> A brief discussion of my positionality as the researcher conducting this investigation, and the influence that my history and current position with Taaleem may have had on the views expressed by the student participants is provided in Section 4.1 of the ‘Methodology’ chapter.

<sup>8</sup> The ‘Discussion’ chapter delves into Hong Kong and Singapore’s bilingual education policies.

## CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

The topic of bilingual education is a broad area of research spanning multiple disciplines, from political science to linguistics, sociology to pedagogy (Mejia, 2002). The first three sections in this chapter present brief synopses of three areas within this field of research, chosen because of their critical relevance to the current investigation: (1) defining bilingual education, (2) typology of bilingual education and, (3) the benefits of bilingual education. In addition to these three areas, the present enquiry also touches on the link between language and cultural identity, as well as the phenomenon of language shift within the framework of the difficult choice that Emirati parents in Dubai face in selecting their children's schooling, as presented in the previous two chapters. At the heart of this dilemma is the fear that young Emiratis are in danger of becoming detached from their native language and cultural heritage. Section 3.4 deals with these pieces. Finally, section 3.5 presents a summary of the available research on bilingual education in Arab countries, scarce as it is, with a particular focus on Arabic diglossia and Abu Dhabi's 2010-11 foray into introducing compulsory bilingual education to its state school system.

### *3.1 Defining Bilingual Education*

Defining bilingual education is challenging, to say the least; indeed, according to Mejia (2002), any attempt to do so seems destined to fail. The reasons for this relate to the fact that the concept belongs to interdisciplinary fields of research (Fishman, 1976), and therefore takes on meaning and resonance in accordance with the area of interest of the researcher. For instance, for academics like Heller (1994, 1999), whose research focuses on political issues, the definition of bilingual education takes on political connotations, whereas sociolinguists such as Fishman (1972a, 1980, 1991) and Hornberger (1989, 1991) study the concept through the lens of social context. Researchers like Coulmas (1992) and Garcia (1995) study the economic dimensions of bilingual education, in contrast to educationalists such as Ovando and Collier (1987) and Baker (2011) who are more interested in how people become bilingual within an institutional setting, such as a school or a college. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that Cazden and Snow (1999) should refer to bilingual education as a "simple term for a complex phenomenon" (pp. 508).



Further complication in defining the term arises from the practice of many, researchers and commoners alike, of misusing it. For example, bilingual education is regularly applied to situations where educational instruction is designed in order to develop and nurture mastery of dual languages, and contrastingly, to ones where students are already in command of two languages, but where bilingualism is not a defined goal (Baker, 2011). Bilingual education can also be confused with language teaching programmes. According to Garcia (2009) the two differ markedly, in terms of:

- *Educational goals* – whereas bilingual programmes aim to develop the ability to function across cultures (please refer to section 3.4 for further detail), language-teaching programmes simply target the acquisition of an additional language;
- *Language use* – languages being used as media of instruction in the case of bilingual programmes, compared to additional languages being taught as subjects in language-teaching programmes; and
- *Pedagogical emphasis* – the integration of language and educational content across a spectrum of subjects, compared to explicit language instruction.

Garcia (2009) rejects the oversimplifying view of bilingual education as the sum of two distinct languages, emphasising the critical role of the interplay between the two languages in advancing the learner's cognitive and communicational development. She offers the following definition:

Any instance in which children's and teachers' communicative practices in school *normally include the use of multiple multilingual practices that maximise learning efficiency and communication; and that, in so doing, foster and develop tolerance towards linguistic differences, as well as appreciation of languages and bilingual proficiency* (italics in the original, Garcia, 2009; pp. 8-9).

Thus, according to Garcia, bilingual education is a pedagogical approach in which language majority students are taught in the language they wish to acquire. The integration of language and academic instruction becomes a key distinguishing characteristic of bilingual education (Genessee, 2004), as expressed by Anderrson and Boyer in their definition of the term as: "instruction in two languages and the use of those two languages as mediums of instruction for any part, or all, of the school curriculum" (1970; pp. 12).

Although these definitions of bilingual education are broad enough that they are unlikely to generate much debate, they do not fully address the questions of what objectives bilingual education is supposed to achieve, and what form or model is best suited to meet those objectives. The challenge comes from two sources. Firstly, lack of agreement on certain fundamental concepts and constructs such as: 'language'; the ways in which children learn their 'first language' and whether these differ from how they acquire a 'second language'; the effects of the social environment on learning a 'second language'; and the nature of language interference for people who can speak multiple languages (Baetens-Beardsmore; 1986). Secondly, diversity of purpose, which can differ markedly from one context to the next across the spectrum that stretches from the micro units of society (the home environment), through schools, districts and finally nations (Mackey, 1972). Some of these purposes include: a need to preserve or revive a language; a desire to follow a strong economic developmental agenda; the pursuit of national integration; and language and cognitive development (Cziko & Troike, 1984; Paulston, 1980). Not surprisingly, many researchers, the likes of Edwards (1981) and Mackey (1972) to name just two, consider bilingual education as being inexorably linked within the specific social environments in which it exists. In the case of Mackey, this has led to a typology in which ninety different environments are identified. It is very likely, therefore, that the type of Arabic-English bilingual model that will emerge through the current investigation will be uniquely shaped by the multifarious interactions of the social, economic and linguistic factors (presented in brief in the previous chapter) that are present in the lives of young Emiratis.

### *3.2 Typology of Bilingual Education*

Complexity within the field of bilingual education is not restricted to just the definition of the term, but also encompasses the multitude of aims that a bilingual educational model aspires to achieve, which has led researchers to develop classifications and typologies to make sense of it all. One such classification, introduced by Lambert in 1974, pits 'additive bilingualism' against 'subtractive bilingualism' (Lambert, 1974). In the case of additive bilingualism, the individual acquires an additional language at no cost to his/her first language (Baker, 2011). More often than not, additive bilingualism involves the acquisition of a 'global' language such as English or Mandarin, for example, that opens up opportunities for the acquirer that may involve anything from accessing higher educational institutions in which that global language is the principal

medium of instruction, to the improvement of the acquirer's job or career prospects. According to Mejia:

Additive bilingualism refers, on the one hand, to the positive cognitive outcomes which result from being bilingual on an individual level, and on the other, to the enrichment of language, culture and ethnolinguistic identity at a societal level (2002; pp. 40).

Subtractive bilingualism, on the other hand, comes at the cost of undermining or diminishing the acquirer's first language. Subtractive bilingual models often arise in situations where the second language that an individual (say, an immigrant) wishes to acquire is the dominant language within society (such as English in the United States of America). Here, the second language is afforded higher status than the acquirer's first language. The process of becoming bilingual in this context, therefore, is one in which the dominant language replaces the acquirer's first or home language, and the model is often linked with submersion education, or in Baker's terminology, detailed below, mainstreaming. The anxiety felt by Emirati parents about the predominance of English within Dubai society, exacerbated by the language policies of English-medium schools as detailed in the 'Context' chapter, correlates with the phenomenon of subtractive bilingualism, as English threatens to undermine the position of Arabic as the native language of the children in these Emirati families.

Baker (2011) introduces a typology matrix based on the different aims of bilingual education. While recognising the limitations of typologies in terms of their static nature, their tendency to simplify unsympathetically to context, and their inability to explain successes and failures, Baker argues that there is still merit in the conceptual clarity that a typology can provide. In all, he presents 10 types of bilingual education, which he categorises under three forms: **monolingual**, **weak** and **strong**.

As the name suggests, the aim of the **monolingual form** is to generate monolingual learners. The underlying philosophy is one of assimilation, or (as in the case of the segregationist type) apartheid. According to Baker's matrix, three types of bilingual education belong to this form: *mainstreaming with structured immersion*, *mainstreaming with withdrawal classes*, and *segregationist*. The first two types involve submersing minority-language learners into mainstream (or dominant language) education. They are a subtractive form of bilingualism, "wherein the learner's mother tongue and identity are gradually replaced by that of the new

language” (Gallagher, 2011; pp.63). In the segregationist type, an ‘inferior’ (native, invariably) language is forced upon the powerless segment(s) of society while access to the so-called ‘power language’ is denied.

The second is the **weak form**, categorised into three types: *transitional*, *mainstream with foreign language teaching* and *separatist*.

- The *transitional* type of bilingual education shares the same assimilation ideology that underpins the two mainstream types described above. The only difference is that the minority-language learners are allowed use of their native language for a period of time, typically two to six years, until they are able to cope with mainstream schooling in the majority language (August, 2002).
- The *mainstream with foreign language teaching* type utilises the majority language as the medium of instruction to deliver most subjects in the school curriculum, while downgrading the minority (sometimes, but not always, foreign) language to a subject in the curriculum. In the case of Emiratis and the Arab expatriate population attending English-medium schools in Dubai, the minority language happens to be their native language, Arabic. This type of education rarely produces functionally bilingual children, as it adopts a ‘monoglossic’ view of keeping the learner’s languages separate and bounded (Garcia, 2009).
- Type three, *separatist bilingual education*, within Baker’s weak form, applies to relatively rare situations where a segment of society that traces its ethnic roots and cultural inheritance (including native language) to a source distinct from the rest, attempts to detach itself from the language of the majority, the Kurdish ethnic minorities in southern Turkey and northern Iraq being one such example (Schermerhorn, 1970).

Baker’s **strong form** has four types: *immersion*, *maintenance*, *dual language* and *mainstream bilingual*, all of which share a common aim, that of developing bilingual or biliterate<sup>9</sup> learners. In all four types, the languages in use (typically two, but can be more) are applied as media of instruction, spanning multiple subjects in the curriculum. In

---

<sup>9</sup> Biliteracy, according to Hornberger, is “any and all instances in which communication occurs in two or more languages in or around writing” (Hornberger, 1990; pp.213).

immersion, maintenance and dual language programmes, the two languages have a hierarchical relationship, whereas in mainstream bilingual programmes the interaction is between two majority languages.

- *Immersion programmes for bilingualism and biliteracy* immerse majority language speakers in a second language. Immersion bilingual education has its origins in Canada, where in 1965 an experiment took place in a suburb of Montreal, in which 26 English-speaking kindergarten children were in a tailored French educational programme (Lambert & Tucker, 1972), with the aim for these children to become bilingual without loss of academic achievement. Some of the core features of *immersion programmes* include the use of the immersion language as the medium of instruction, restricting the immersion language largely to the confines of the classroom, and the employment of bilingual teachers. The extent of immersion can vary from 100% of class time to a system where this ratio tapers over time to make room for the first language. Furthermore, while the programme is typically introduced in the early years of education, it can extend beyond to include secondary and tertiary education.
- *Maintenance programmes for bilingualism and biliteracy* accentuate a first language to minority language speakers. In such programmes, sometimes referred to as 'heritage language bilingual education', a considerable amount of classroom time is allocated to instruction in the language minority children's native or heritage language, with the goal of full bilingualism (Baker, 2011). Maintenance programmes are typically found in situations where the majority of the learners come from language minority homes. The minority language is used as a medium of instruction for, typically, 50% of the time, although in some instances that can reach 80% to 100%, with the justification that heritage language is easily lost, while the majority language of society, being prevalent and omnipresent, is easily gained.
- *Dual language programmes for bilingualism and biliteracy* usually occur in schools where language minority and language majority speakers are more or less equally balanced. As such, equal instructional time is given to the two languages for at least four or five years. It is worth noting that environmental factors can often conspire to negate the balance desired by these programmes, forcing schools

offering dual language programmes to skew the numerical equity in terms of instructional time in favour of the 'less favoured' language (Oller and Eilers, 2002). In the case of Dubai, for instance, a school wishing to adopt a dual language philosophy will have to take into account the predominant role that the English language plays in most daily experiences and interactions, especially for young learners; experiences such as surfing the internet, using social media, watching television or going to the movies, which for the majority of young Emiratis living in Dubai would be in English.

- Finally, *mainstream bilingual programmes*, also known as *bilingual education in majority languages*, use two majority languages that are positioned on par with each other. Such programmes are predictably prevalent within societies where the majority of the population is bilingual, such as Singapore and Luxembourg.

The four examples of Arabic-English bilingual schools in the Arab region, profiled in section 2.5 of the 'Context' chapter, arguably, belong to Baker's strong form, straddling the borders between the *immersion*, *maintenance* and *dual language* categories, to suit their own contexts. For instance, in its attempts to strike an 'equal balance' between Arabic and English as languages of instruction in the kindergarten and primary years, Ibn Khuldoon National School (IKNS) teaches mathematics and science in Arabic until the middle of Grade 3 (8 to 9 year olds), at which point a transition to instruction in English takes place. A similar transition from Arabic to English occurs at the end of the primary years in social studies. It is highly likely that the bilingual model emerging from the current enquiry will also belong to Baker's strong form, given that what exists today in terms of English-medium schools falls largely within the weak form. However, whether the model adheres strictly to any one of the four categories of the strong form specified by Baker, or takes on a hybrid structure, will be dictated by the findings of the study.

### *3.3 Benefits of Bilingual Education*

Raising and educating children bilingually is not without its detractors (Garcia, 2009). Parents continue to receive advice from teachers, school counsellors, speech therapists and other professionals against it, in the fear that bilingualism may drain their cognitive abilities. According to Baker (2011), these views are based on two prejudices: firstly, that the acquisition

of languages amounts to a zero sum game (in other words the acquisition of a second language comes at the cost of the learner losing skills and abilities in his/her first language), and secondly, that bilingualism leads to a reduced efficiency in thinking (with two languages occupying the brain, there is less room to acquire and store other learning).

The prevailing position adopted by academics during the period starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century and ending in the early 1960's, supported by research studies that compared the IQ scores of bilinguals with those of monolinguals, was that bilingualism had detrimental effects on intelligence (Saer, 1923, 1924). Baker (2011) raises many questions regarding the reliability of the methodologies adopted by the so called 'detrimental effects studies', including their myopic and one-dimensional definition of intelligence, the language that they used in testing participants, their naïve classification of who constitutes a bilingual learner and who does not, and a general lack of regard for context and matching groups, in which the multitude of variables that influence the individuals within the 'bilingual' and 'monolingual' groups are all but ignored. Unfortunately, despite their flaws, these studies have had a lasting impact on educators and parents, contributing to the prejudices mentioned at the beginning of the previous paragraph. During the last three decades of this period, however, studies were conducted which drew attention to the flaws of the detrimental effects investigations (Jones, 1959), while others concluded that there was no IQ difference between monolinguals and bilinguals (Pinter & Arsenian, 1937). These studies, though limited in number, were nevertheless hugely important in shifting the mind-set of researchers, paving the way for the 'additive effects' belief, which constitutes the predominant view today.

The seminal research conducted by Peal and Lambert (1962) had three important legacies: (1) it corrected many of the methodological weaknesses of the detrimental effects period, (2) it suggested for the first time that bilingualism may have beneficial cognitive effects, and (3) it encouraged researchers to broaden their definition of cognition beyond just measuring a learner's IQ (Baker, 2011). According to Garcia (2009), bilingual education holds the potential of imparting to the learner **cognitive** and **social** advantages.

The cognitive advantages of bilingualism include:

- *Enhanced attention and control* – clinical research studies suggest that the frontal right brain hemisphere among bilinguals to be significantly more active compared to

monolinguals, what is referred to as the “neurological signature” for bilingualism (Kovelman et al., 2008), providing bilinguals with advantages in attention and control, and holding the potential promise of delaying the onset of dementia (Mehmedbegovic, 2017);

- *Metalinguistic awareness* – where bilinguals are believed to possess a heightened awareness of words and that their semantic development was faster than that of monolinguals (Leopold, 1961; Ianco-Worrall, 1972; Bialystok, 1987 & 2004);
- *Divergent thinking* – stemming from bilinguals’ ability to propose innovative solutions to problems, and to think creatively and flexibly (Baker, 1988; Ricciardelli, 1992);
- *Communicative sensitivity* – which relates to the fact that bilinguals are constantly making decisions on which codes to use and in what situations to use them, making them more sensitive to verbal and non-verbal cues than monolinguals during the course of communication (Genesee, Tucker and Lambert, 1975); and
- *Ability to acquire multiple languages* – by virtue of their experience as language learners, bilinguals have an enhanced ability to acquire further languages compared to monolinguals (Hawkins, 1984; Hoffman and Ytsma, 2004).

The social advantages of bilingualism include:

- *Socioeconomic benefits* – in which, through the acquisition of a second language, or as the case may be a ‘power’ language as defined by society, the bilingual learner gains social capital (Breton, 1978; Grin, 2003; Linton, 2003);
- *Global interactions* – as young learners adopt a transnational perception of relationships;
- *Local interactions* – often with family, older generations or religious figures whose language is minoritised, potentialising “acts of identities” (Wenger, 1998; Pennycook, 1998); and
- *Cultural awareness and construction* – where the advantage that bilinguals possess over monolinguals relates to their heightened awareness of their own culture, which consequently raises their level of sensitivity towards that of others (Oksaar, 1989; Baetens Beardsmore, 1986).



Freeman summarises the prevailing current view on bilingualism in the following statement:

The cumulative evidence from research conducted over the last three decades at sites around the world demonstrates that cognitive, social, personal, and economic benefits accrue to the individual who has an opportunity to develop their bilingual repertoire (2007; pp. 9).

### 3.4 Language and Identity, and Language Shift

The correlation between language and identity is both complex and fluid (Baker, 2011). While the traditional view of language as the depository of culture and heritage still holds true in many respects (Heller, 1999), language alone does not define one's identity (Block, 2007; Blackledge, Creese et al, 2008). Moreover, while language use affects the identity of the individual or group, the reciprocal is also true: namely, the individual or the group's identity influences the way that language is used (Liebkind, 1999). According to Anderson: "language, as constructed, is not only a simple identity marker, but is capable of generating imagined communities and of constructing particular loyalties" (1983; pp. 133). As a result, language's utility within society takes on an expanded *rhetorical* role in addition to its more conventional *semiotic* and *symbolic* functions (Garcia, 2009). From this vantage, people perform their identity by using language rather than use language based on their identity (Pennycook, 2003).

The phenomenon of colonialism in the early twentieth century, which brought European languages (English, French and to a lesser degree Italian) to the shores of Arab states, coupled more recently with the forces of globalisation, has had a marked influence on the linguistic identity of their indigenous population, particularly in Dubai and its neighbouring Gulf states (Al-Khatib, 2006). Realising the increased importance of colonial languages (specifically English in the case of the Arabian Gulf states) as *lingua francas*, policy makers in those countries introduced the teaching of these languages into school and university curricula, which according to Gallagher (2011; pp. 64), has transformed the Arabian Gulf states into "new sites of linguistic contestation and accommodation between the indigenous language of Arabic and the global language of English". In a fashion that mirrors that of other formerly colonised countries, postcolonial identity in the Arabian Gulf states takes on a hybrid form, involving the use of multiple languages and language practices (Holt & Gubbins, 2002). With a population demographic that places indigenous Emiratis squarely in the minority, the desire of Emiratis to 'preserve' Arabic as their heritage language mirrors that of ethnolinguistic minorities, who, in a

globalised economy, assume a flexible and multifaceted identity, as they pragmatically tap into their pluralistic sources of linguistic and social capital (Heller, 1999). Furthermore, among the younger bracket of the Emirati population, as seen amongst their counterparts elsewhere in the world, the incidence of 'language crossing' can be quite prevalent, as both language and culture are reconstructed dynamically depending on time and place (Hall, 1996).

In this context, the attitudes towards 'language shift', defined by Fishman (1965; pp. 76) as "the relationship between change (or stability) in language use patterns, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, in populations that utilise more than one speech variety for intra-group or inter-group purposes", in Dubai and other Arab states fall into one of two camps (Gallagher, 2011). In the resistance camp are Karmani (2005), Bashur (2010) and Sayed (2010) who have raised concerns over the shift away from Arabic and religion towards English, science and mathematics, and who, rightfully, view the rhetoric emanating from the USA post-9/11 as "putting English over Islam" (Glasser, 2003, pp. A20). In the appropriations camp are the likes of Kabel (2007) who espouse a pragmatic view in which English and Arabic can exist side-by-side, thus serving the greater good within societies that have a stated political stance of being open to the rest of the world and position themselves as global centres of commerce and tourism, as typified by Dubai.

Research on bilingual education tends to focus on proficiency of language acquisition and on academic achievement, measured against monolingual benchmarks (Reyes & Vallone, 2007). However, by and large, research studies have ignored the impact of bilingual programmes on children, and how these programmes influence children's emerging identities (Martin, 2012; Reyes & Vallone, 2007). There is abundant evidence in the literature to suggest a strong connection between language, as the 'carrier of culture', and cultural identity (Baker, 2011; Cavallaro, 2005; Cho, 2000). While researchers have identified links between classroom dialogue and student identity development, there remains a paucity of studies focusing on this topic (Stables, 2003). It is not surprising, therefore, that we should find research on bilingual models rarely delving into the effects such programmes may have on students' emerging identities. In their 2007 study exploring bilingual immersion programmes for linguistic minority students, Reyes and Vallone argue that a strong theoretical framework exists for dual language programmes, built on three pillars: (1) children, given the right environment, have an inherent capacity to learn languages, (2) bilingual programmes have the capacity to enhance students'

cognitive abilities and academic achievement, and (3) children who have experienced dual-language programmes tend to acquire positive cross-cultural attitudes (Reyes & Vallone, 2007). Reyes and Vallone recognise, however, that this framework falls short of addressing the self perception of students in dual-language programmes, and argue for the creation of a fourth pillar to address this gap. One hypothesis that they put forward is that dual-language programmes may lead to the development of 'metacultural awareness' in students, and suggest in their conclusion that researchers investigate this further.

In 2014, I had the opportunity to visit one of the Arabic-English bilingual schools profiled in section 2.5 of the 'Context' chapter, IKNS, where I conducted an investigation that sought to explore the impact of an Arabic-English bilingual educational programme on the identity perceptions of students (Azzam, 2014). The study's two organising research questions were: (1) *what are the identity perceptions of students who have experienced a dual-language pre-tertiary educational programme and the factors that have influenced them?* and (2) *in what ways, if any, are these perceptions aligned with the stated objectives of the programme?* Two groups of students took part in the study: Group 1 involved three Grade 9 students (age bracket: 14 to 15 years), Group 2 three Grade 11 students (age bracket: 16 to 17 years). The study employed individual as well as focus group interviews, with each interview and focus group comprising three separate activities. In the case of the individual interviews the three activities included language background scales (Baker, 1992), language portraits (Krumm & Jenkins, 2001), as well as open-ended questions that explored the collective identity of a 'typical' IKNS student. During the focus groups, participants were asked to sketch their own individual cultural identity maps (Holliday, 1994), as well as collaborate to produce an identity map for the 'typical' IKNS student, before, finally being asked to react to two statements extracted from the school literature relating to the topic of student identity. The findings from the study revealed that the participants had:

...A clear perception of their own language identity compositions, which were centred around the two major languages on offer at the school, Arabic and English, and aligned quite closely to the stated objectives of the school. The main factors that have influenced these perceptions included the environment of Bahrain and everyday communication in Bahraini society, the demands of tertiary education (which for most IKNS students means life abroad in an English-speaking country), the expectations of the job market, and of course the school's own educational programme and the people (students and staff) of IKNS (Azzam, 2014; pp. 29).

### 3.5 Research on Bilingual Education in the Arab World

Researchers who study bilingualism and bilingual education have all but ignored Arab countries (Al-Khatib, 2006). A scan of some of the leading texts and journals in the field points to this scant coverage, due largely to the scarcity of empirical data in the region (Gallagher, 2011). However, the rise in the global stature of the Arabian Gulf states over the past 50 to 60 years has had some positive effect with researchers such as Garcia (2009) and Hornberger (2008) who have identified these states as new arenas in which the indigenous language (Arabic) and the global language (English) come into conflict, and subsequently worthy of study.

The prevalence of Arabic 'diglossia' adds a further dimension to the scenario of linguistic contestation and accommodation. Ferguson (1959) was the first to define the term 'diglossia' as referring to a situation "where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, with each having a definite role to play" (pp. 1). In the case of Arab countries, and certainly in Dubai, the two distinct varieties of the language are *formal*, sometimes referred to as *classical Arabic*, and the other *colloquial Arabic*, which in the case of Dubai is referred to as *Emirati* or *Khaleeji Arabic* ('Khaleej' being the transliteration of the Arabic word meaning 'Gulf'). In fact researchers in the region, Al Sharhan (2007) being one of them, identify three variants of the language (or three 'triglossic' varieties) which Emirati children are exposed to: (1) *Khaleeji Arabic* (being the national spoken vernacular variety of the language), (2) modern classical Arabic used in books, newspapers, magazines and other written media, and taught in schools, and (3) Qur'anic classical Arabic. Of the three varieties, Qur'anic Arabic enjoys the highest status, followed by modern classical Arabic, while Khaleeji Arabic receives low status. According to Ferguson's categorisation (1959), 'High' status language variants are associated with prestige, literary heritage, and are used in formal settings, while 'Low' status variants are not prestigious, not standardised, lack literary heritage and are used in informal settings. Diglossia, or as the case maybe in Dubai triglossia, is considered by some researchers to be a form of bi/(multi)-lingualism (Rosenhouse & Goral, 2004), although others, such as Fishman (1972b), draw clear distinctions between the two. Irrespective of which of these opposing views one adopts, the truth of the matter is that for many (if not most) young Emirati children who are about to join a school in Dubai for the first time, typically at the age of 3 or 4 years, their linguistic repertoire consists of monolingual competence in the vernacular Khaleeji Arabic. Within their school setting, they are exposed to two additional varieties of the language,

modern classical Arabic and Qur'anic Arabic, in addition to English (Gallagher, 2011). The burden placed on the shoulders of these children is immense, leading not only to poor achievement in first language literacy (Gobert, 2009) but is also believed to be a key factor contributing to poor overall academic achievement across the entire primary and secondary curriculum (Maamouri, 1998).

The 'Context' chapter makes mention of the policy adopted by the UAE Ministry of Education of using English as the exclusive medium of instruction within all state-own and operated institutions of higher learning, with the exception of a few Arabic-centric disciplines, such as Arabic Language and Literature, Islamic Studies and Jurisprudence, and law. Private institutions of higher learning follow a similar policy. In contrast, primary and secondary state-owned and operated schools use Arabic as the medium of instruction, with English taught as a foreign language. This 'late, late immersion' in English at the tertiary level has been criticised for being very expensive and highly ineffective (Bardsley, 2009; Fox, 2008). Some 80-90% of school leavers do not have the language skills in English to cope with tertiary education, and have to undergo at least a year's worth of foundation courses (MOE, 2017). In 2006, UAE students who sat the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) had the lowest overall scores out of twenty countries (Gallagher, 2011).

Faced with the overwhelming evidence of poor academic achievement, and wasted resources spent on remedial instruction, Dubai and Abu Dhabi chose to go down very different paths. Dubai's solution, as detailed in the 'Context' chapter, was to allow the private K-12 sector, which today caters to 90% of all school-aged children, to grow and flourish, while imposing high standards of achievement through its school inspections scheme. With the majority of these private schools adopting English as the medium of instruction, the result, for Emirati students at least, has led to 'subtractive bilingualism', whereby English proficiency was acquired at the expense of Arabic (Gallagher, 2011). Abu Dhabi's solution, launched during the academic year 2010-11, was to transform the state school sector through the introduction of a model based on *side-by-side early partial immersion* in a second language, namely English. The label 'side-by-side' refers to the use of two teachers in every classroom, one who is a native speaker of English, and the other a native speaker of Arabic. The model is labelled 'early' because it is introduced as early as kindergarten, and is restricted to the kindergarten and primary years. The 'partial' label refers to the fact that immersion in English excludes the subjects of Arabic

language, Islamic studies and social studies, which of course continue to be taught in Arabic. Although immersion models of education exist elsewhere in the world, for example in Canada and Hong Kong, what singles out the Abu Dhabi initiative is its universality. Bilingual education within the Canadian context is optional, and based on parental choice; in Hong Kong it is reserved for the gifted and talented students (Lin & Man, 2009). In Abu Dhabi, Emirati parents will either have to accept the policy of bilingual Arabic-English education for their children, or alternatively seek an Arab-medium school within the private sector where they will have to pay tuition fees. According to the Director General of the Abu Dhabi Education Council (ADEC), the body responsible for regulating private schools and operating state schools in the Emirate:

This new approach to education focuses on creating bi-literate students, which means students will be able to understand, speak, read and write in both English and Arabic. While mathematics and science will be taught in English language, Arabic language history and Islamic studies will be taught by native Arabic speakers (ADEC, 2017).

When Kay Gallagher published her paper on Abu Dhabi's experimentation with bilingual education in its state school system, the programme was still in its infancy. In the article she raises five questions as areas for future research, all of which have some relevance, either directly or indirectly, to the enquiry at hand (Gallagher, 2011):

- *Is younger really better?*
- *Is it better to teach children to read and write in their first language before teaching to read and write in another language?*
- *Will children's Arabic suffer?*
- *Will children's knowledge of mathematics and science suffer?*
- *Will early partial immersion lead to advanced English proficiency?*

The bearing that these questions, or at least a subset of them, have on what the present enquiry is seeking to answer for Dubai's private K-12 education system is addressed in the 'Reflections and Areas for Future Research' chapter.

\* \* \*

The construct of bilingual education is both multifaceted and complex, and attempts to define it can lead to misperceptions or oversimplifications (Kohnert & Bates, 2002). “Bilinguals are not double monolinguals... and should not be studied from monolingual perspectives” (Garcia, 2009; pp. 48); by the same notion bilingual education cannot be reduced to the single archetypal model of education “conducted half in one language and half in another” (Martin; 2012; pp. 36). While the definition proposed by Andersson and Boyer (1970; pp. 12) of bilingual education as “instruction in two languages and the use of those two languages as mediums of instruction for any part, or all, of the school curriculum”, serves as a useful guide for the Arabic-English bilingual model that could potentially emerge from the present investigation, it still leaves open the matter of what portion, both in terms of volume and subjects, of the curriculum should be delivered in Arabic versus English to be inferred from the study’s findings. As argued in the last paragraph of section 3.1, however, investigating what bilingual education could mean for Dubai’s Emirati population requires an understanding of the motivations behind the desire for introducing such an educational model. The ‘Context’ chapter mentions the concerns felt by many Emirati parents, as well as policy makers and the rulers of Dubai, over the prospect of native language attrition among the younger generation of Emiratis. Counterbalancing this phenomenon is Dubai’s unabated drive towards modernising and developing its economy, and its openness to global trade and commerce, leading to the ever-increasing need for Emiratis seeking to join the workforce to learn English. The current enquiry seeks to confirm the existence of these two opposing forces in the consciousness of Emirati students, through some of its subsidiary questions listed in chapter 1 which require the research participants to reveal their attitudes towards Arabic and English, and to share their perceptions of the benefits of bilingual education, while describing key components of the bilingual model that would best suit their needs.

In examining the typologies of bilingual education, the approach suggested by Baker (2011) comes to the forefront, in which ten types are classified under three categories: **monolingual**, **weak**, and **strong**. The underlying premise of Baker’s typology is the distinction between classrooms in which instruction explicitly promotes bilingualism (the **strong form**), and those in which bilingual children are present but bilingualism is not a stated goal in the curriculum (the **monolingual** and **weak forms**). Typologies of this kind, although they provide a useful framework as a research tool, cannot be isolated from their social contexts (Mackey, 2012). As a result, in investigating the type(s) of bilingual models suitable to Emirati students, the current

study imposes no single type or form on the research participants, allowing social and other environmental factors that have helped shape the views of the participants to emerge from the findings.

The ensuing chapter describes the methodology adopted by the study in seeking to find answers to the main research question and the subsidiary questions it entails, and how in seeking these answers the enquiry is able to link with, and indeed potentially contribute further to our understanding of bilingual education, as argued in the 'Conclusion' chapter.



## CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

As outlined in the 'Introduction' chapter, this enquiry explores the thoughts and feelings, aspirations and anxieties of Emirati students in Dubai's private K-12 sector in relation to the power struggle between two languages: Arabic, symbolising cultural identity, and English, linked with modernity and progress (Clarke, 2007). The study is organised around one main research question ("*What type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model could be developed and implemented in Dubai's private K-12 sector?*"), and eight subsidiary questions:

- (1) *What are the prevailing attitudes towards Arabic and English among Emirati students in private education?*
- (2) *How do Emirati students perceive the status afforded to Arabic and English within Dubai's private education sector?*
- (3) *What role does Arabic diglossia play in the linguistic contestation and accommodation of an Emirati student's existence?*
- (4) *What are the perceptions among Emirati students of the benefits of bilingual education?*
- (5) *What are the key components of Dubai's Arabic-English bilingual model?*
- (6) *Is there only one suitable type of bilingual model, or multiple variants of it?*
- (7) *What are the obstacles and opportunities for the model to take root and succeed?*
- (8) *Should the model be offered universally or by choice? Should it be selective or inclusive?*

The dual nature of the main research question, being at once *exploratory* and *confirmatory*, suggests a methodology that combines qualitative and quantitative approaches (in other words a *mixed methods* approach), based on a *pragmatist* paradigm straddling *constructivist* and *postpositivist* worldviews.

The remainder of this chapter outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the research paradigm and strategy adopted by the investigation (sections 4.1 and 4.2, respectively), and proceeds with detailing the overall design (section 4.3) and methods of data collection and analysis (section 4.4), before concluding with a consideration of some of the key parameters concerning validity (section 4.5) and ethics (section 4.6) arising from the study.

#### 4.1 Research Paradigm

A conventional perception within social science research is that researchers in social and behavioural sciences fall into one of three categories: *quantitatively* oriented social and behavioural scientists, *qualitatively* oriented social and behavioural scientists and *mixed methodologists* (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). Each of these communities follows a specific paradigm (or as the case may be, one or more of its variants), where a paradigm may be described as a “worldview, complete with the assumptions that are associated with that view” (Mertens, 2003; pp. 139).

In attempting to emulate their counterparts in the natural sciences, quantitatively oriented social and behavioural researchers traditionally took a *positivist* view in studies where they sought to test hypotheses through the gathering and analysis of numerical data (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). Positivism dominated social and behavioural science research during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Positivists believe that they can conduct their investigations in a *value-free* environment; in other words, that their own values have no influence over how their research is directed, or how they arrive at their conclusions. The positivist paradigm came under intense criticism during the 1950s and 1960s, due to the fact that strict positivist doctrine ignored the *theory-ladenness* and *value-ladenness* of facts (meaning that research is influenced by the choice of theoretical framework and the values of the investigator, respectively, [Hanson, 1958]), the *under-determination of theory by fact* (namely, that the same set of facts can be explained by a number of seemingly contradictory theories [Phillips, 1987]), the *fallibility of knowledge* (in other words, that one can never prove a theory [Cook & Campbell, 1979]) and the *constructed nature of reality* (Thibault & Kelley, 1959). As a result, the positivist position was later retracted or at least revised, in what is known as the *postpositivist* paradigm (Reichardt & Rellis, 1994). Irrespective of whether quantitatively oriented social and behavioural researchers fall under positivism or postpositivism, their research questions are hypothesis-driven (in other words, the researcher predicts a certain outcome or relationship based on existing theory, and seeks to confirm or refute it), their methods are *nomothetic* or *etic*, in the sense that they aim to identify laws or draw general inferences, and their answers or conclusions are based on numerical/statistical analysis and are presented in numerical form (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009).

Qualitatively oriented social and behavioural research rose to prominence during the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, emerging as a counterculture of sorts to the prevailing positivist/postpositivist paradigm. With their emphasis on collecting, analysing, interpreting and presenting narrative data, qualitatively oriented social and behavioural researchers adopt a *constructivist* view of the world, where the meaning of an observable is something that a researcher constructs, and is therefore *value-laden* (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). Although constructivism, as argued by Creswell (1998), Denzin and Lincoln (2005), among others, has many varieties, these so called variants share the defining features of the constructionist worldview, namely that “knowledge of the world is mediated by cognitive structures” and that it stems from “the interaction of the mind and the environment” (Schwandt, 1997; pp. 19). Indeed, according to Glesne (2006): “Most qualitative researchers adhere to social constructivism or a *constructivist* paradigm” (pp. 7, italics in original). Qualitative research questions do not have a particular hypothesis as their premise, nor is the qualitative researcher out to prove a pre-conceived idea or supposition. The methods used in qualitative oriented social and behavioural research are *ideographic* or *emic* in nature, as they focus their attention on the individual rather than the general case. In conducting qualitative research, social and behavioural scientists analyse narrative data, sometimes referred to as *thematic analysis*, “using a variety of different inductive and iterative techniques, including categorical strategies and contextualising (holistic) strategies” (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009; pp. 6, *parentheses in the original*), and present their findings and conclusions in a narrative form. Thematic analysis features prominently in the examination of the data collected in phase 1 of this investigation, as detailed later in this chapter (in section 4.4) and in chapter 5.

The emergence of constructivism gave rise to the *incompatibility thesis* that pitched positivism/postpositivism against constructivism, depicting the two paradigms as being incommensurable, implying that they cannot be compared nor is there a means to communicate between them (Kuhn, 1962, 1970, 1996; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Many authors took an opposing view to the incompatibility thesis, most notably Howe (1988), who used *pragmatism*<sup>10</sup> to underpin his compatibility thesis. In line with Howe’s position, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) present a

---

<sup>10</sup> Tashakkori and Teddlie define pragmatism as: “a deconstructive paradigm that debunks concepts such as ‘truth’ and ‘reality’ and focuses instead on ‘what works’ as the truth regarding the research questions under investigation. Pragmatism rejects the either/or choices associated with the paradigm wars, advocates for the use of mixed methods in research, and acknowledges that the values of the researcher play a large role in interpretation of results” (2003a; pp. 713).

picture in which the either-or dualism of positivism versus constructivism is replaced with a continuum. They argue that most research is conducted somewhere along this continuum, rather than at either extreme. Mixed methods strategies have the following advantages over single method research (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009):

- They have the ability to answer questions that are both confirmatory and exploratory, which quantitative and qualitative methodologies alone fail to do<sup>11</sup>.
- They have the potential to offer stronger inferences than single method strategies, particularly through the employment of two strengthening functions: triangulation, defined by Patton (2002, pp.247) as: “the use of multiple methods to study a single problem”, and complementarity (Greene et. al., 1989).
- They allow the researcher the opportunity to pursue a greater variety of divergent views, which can lead to falsification of underpinning theoretical assumptions (Erzberger & Prein, 1997), internal quality audits, or an extension of the investigation with either a new phase or indeed a new study altogether (Rossman & Wilson, 1985).

All three factors listed above have direct relevance to the research question being investigated and, consequently, reinforce the proposition that a mixed methods approach is exceptionally suited to serve the aims of this enquiry.

With pragmatism defining their worldview, mixed methodologists use whatever tools available to them that suit the nature of the research question(s) they are investigating. Consequently, to mixed methodologists, research questions have a heightened centrality or significance compared to those in single method traditions, as they dictate the kinds of methods and tools used by the researcher in his/her investigation (Bryman, 2006; Erzberger & Kelle, 2003; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Mixed methods data analysis utilises both numeric and narrative analytic strategies, in addition to other techniques that are unique to the mixed methods

---

<sup>11</sup> *Authors such as Punch (1998) contest the notion of dichotomisation of research questions into exploratory (being the exclusive domain of qualitative research), and confirmatory (being confined to quantitative research). He states: “While that correlation is historically valid, it is by no means perfect, and there is no necessary connection between purpose and approach. That is, quantitative research can be used for theory generation (as well as verification) and qualitative research can be used for theory verification (as well as generation)” (pp. 16-17). While acknowledging Punch’s position, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2009) emphasise that mixed methods are relevant to research projects seeking to answer questions that are simultaneously confirmatory and exploratory.*

tradition, such as *data conversion* or *transformation*. Likewise, findings and conclusions are stated in both numeric and narrative forms.

The current enquiry espouses such a worldview, which on the paradigm spectrum alluded to above lies closer to the constructivist end than the positivist/postpositivist one. It also makes use of data conversion as findings from the qualitative phase (phase 1) are transformed into a format that can be put to use in the succeeding quantitative phase (phase 2), as explained in detail in the ensuing sections.

As I undertook my investigation, particularly during the first phase of data gathering (the qualitative phase), I was fully conscious of the role that I, as a researcher, played in the exercise, and the duality of my own positioning, being both an ‘insider’ and an ‘outsider’ (Arthur, 2010). From the perspective of the research participants, certain aspects of my background and common experiences that I shared with the participants, may have led them to view me as an ‘insider’: the facts that I consider myself an Arab, by virtue of my ethnicity and home language, that I grew up in Dubai, attended English-medium schools, and that through my education and immersion in Dubai society have become bilingual. At the same time, the participants may well have been aware of my ‘outsider’ status: after all, I am not Emirati, and one can argue that the Dubai in which I grew up in the 1970s and 1980s is very different from Dubai today, and certainly less influenced by the forces of globalisation alluded to in the ‘Context’ chapter. Furthermore, my history with Taaleem (the company that owns the two schools attended by the phase 1 student research participants) and the current position that I hold as shareholder and Board Director in the company would undoubtedly have contributed to the power relationship between researcher and participant (Merton, 1972). While acknowledging that these factors, combined with my palpable enthusiasm for the concept of and the educational principles underpinning ‘balanced’ bilingual education, would have undoubtedly influenced my interactions with the phase 1 participants and possibly coloured their views on the subject as expressed in their written statements, the deliberate decision to adopt methodological methods in which the participants were co-researchers, on a shared mission to explore the questions raised by the enquiry, may have evened out some components of the researcher-participant power relationship, helping to “dissolve boundaries between the ‘researcher’ and the ‘researched’” (quotation marks in the original; Milligan, 2016; pp. 11).

In relation to the analysis and interpretation of the data collected across both phases of the enquiry (which took on a thematic form during phase 1, while phase 2 was characterised by a largely statistical analytical approach), I also acknowledge that these too were subject to being influenced by my positionality, value system and personal biases. As argued by Dean et. al. (2018): “Different researchers can look at the same issue or phenomenon, and find value in different artefacts and behaviours, or stress different elements as most important or most interesting” (pp. 275). While certain measures were taken during the data analysis exercise to try to mitigate these influences, such as ensuring that the ‘tension statements’ derived from the student essays preserved the wording of the authors (as discussed in detail in Chapter 5), the influences could not be erased altogether. Hence, as argued by Denzin (1997), the claims made by this inquiry are subjective interpretations, negotiated through the voice of the researcher.

Finally, in addition to adopting an ethnographic positioning of conducting my research *with* the participants, I had hoped that the students who took part in my enquiry, particularly the ones who did ‘all the hard work’ in phase 1, could perceive the potential value that the exercise might add to them and possibly future generations of Emiratis. Needless to say, I was delighted to receive evidence to this effect, through the reactions of some of the student participants. Here is one such example:

Thank you very much for the chocolates and your kind words. I truly hope I contributed to your project. I am grateful for the knowledge I received through my participation in the discussion sessions. Thank you for answering my questions and for presenting this opportunity to me. Most importantly, I thank you for your efforts in conducting a research that will benefit Dubai and its people. *Participant A-6*

#### *4.2 Research Strategy and Framework*

As stated in section 1.2 of the ‘Introduction’ chapter, in conducting this research, I set out to achieve two objectives: firstly, to explore how bilingualism is viewed by Emirati students who are in private education in Dubai and to establish the type of Arabic-English bilingual model that would be accepted by them; secondly, to identify the conditions needed to encourage the realization of this type of schooling and ensure its future success within Dubai’s private K-12 education sector. These objectives engendered one overarching research question and eight

subsidiary questions. The challenges that Emirati parents face when choosing to enrol their children in one of Dubai's private schools, stemming from the treatment of Arabic and English in those schools (more precisely, the predominance of the former over the latter in the case of English-medium private schools popular with Emirati families) provides the contextual background to the enquiry. These factors, combined with my decision to adopt a largely constructivist paradigm, set the boundaries within which the enquiry's methodological strategy was confined. In this section, I will attempt to demonstrate how close examination of the main research question reveals that it is innately both *exploratory* and *confirmatory*, leading to the adoption of a research framework that is based on a mixed methods triangulated approach. Ensuing sections (namely sections 4.3 and 4.4) that delve into details of the design, its research participants and aspects of validity, also endeavour to provide further reinforcement of the proposition that the enquiry's methodology serves its stated objectives.

Embedded within the main research question is the dilemma currently facing Dubai's Emirati community, particularly parents and their school-aged children, as presented in detail in the 'Context' chapter. On the one hand, lies the desire of these parents to preserve their native language (as a vessel of cultural identity) for future generations, through the process of educating their children in Arabic (Kenaid, 2011). On the other hand, they must face the reality that English has become, effectively, the *lingua franca* in Dubai's society, as it dominates everyday interactions and is the language in which business is largely conducted (Karmani, 2009). Although the question does assume that bilingual education has a role to play in addressing this dilemma, it makes no assumptions or speculations about the nature and type of bilingual model that would best suit the needs of Emirati families, leaving that to be inferred through the process of examining people's (in this case Emirati students', as shall be detailed in the next section) opinions on the matter. People's thoughts and views are not quantifiable, although they have the propensity to influence conditions and variables that are measurable. These aspects of the main research question are fundamentally exploratory, and therefore, as argued at the beginning of this chapter, investigating them requires a qualitative research design to either generate or extrapolate theory (Punch, 1998; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003b). However, the study's main research question as constructed also seeks to confirm two suppositions: firstly, that bilingual education has a possible role to play in resolving the Arabic-versus-English predicament facing Emirati families; and secondly, that the research participants can all agree on a certain 'best-fit' bilingual model, or, as the case may be, models.

Investigating these two facets of the question requires a quantitative approach in the hope that some general ‘truths’ can be deduced regarding the characteristics of an Arabic-English bilingual model that has a chance to take root in Dubai’s private K-12 sector. Here, key messages and underlying themes emerging from analysis of the data collected during the exploratory phase are compared and common threads are identified. The emphasis shifts from the value-laden nature of the exploratory phase to an arguably value-free framework, where narrative data from the first phase are transformed in such a way as to allow measurement and numerical analysis of causal relationships between variables.

Accordingly, this enquiry adopts a mixed methods sequential strategy performed over two phases, utilizing multiple sources of data generated through written arguments by a small sample of Emirati students (phase 1), and a questionnaire directed at a broader sample of Emirati students<sup>12</sup> (phase 2).

#### *4.3 Research Design and Participants*

This section details the various aspects of the enquiry’s design, delving into some of the epistemological aspects of the enquiry, and how the design makes use of certain methods that are customarily associated with the mixed methods tradition cited earlier in this chapter, particularly data transformation and triangulation. The section also provides a brief description of the study’s participants.

In phase 1, up to 20 Emirati students, aged between 15 and 18 years, are chosen from two different private schools in Dubai, with each school contributing a cohort of up to 10 students. The two schools selected to take part in this phase of the study were Al Mizhar American Academy (AAM) and Dubai International Private School in Garhood (DIS). As explained in the ‘Context’ chapter, I chose those two schools in particular for two reasons: (1) they are popular with Emirati families, with Emiratis constituting 66% of AAM’s student population, and 40% of DIS’s student population; and (2) ease of access (please refer to section 2.6).

During this phase, each participating cohort meets twice. At the start of the first session, the participants are introduced briefly to some of the theories underpinning bilingual education

---

<sup>12</sup> A brief discussion of sample size for the quantitative phase of the study is presented in section 6.2.



and the various models in which it manifests itself, and are provided with a short explanation of the objectives of the study and why bilingual education may have relevance to Dubai's education system. Following that, they are asked to complete a language background survey (Baker, 1992). Each cohort is then divided into two groups of five and the students are expected to debate issues related to the study's main research question. During this debate, each participant within a group is assigned a specific role, arguing his/her position from the viewpoint of one of the following stakeholder groups: students, parents, school leaders, regulators/policy makers or school owners/operators. By introducing role-play, I wanted the students to be consciously aware of the fact that the questions the study is seeking to answer are relevant to groups within Dubai society other than themselves, and hoped, by doing so, to broaden the scope of the arguments that they would eventually put forward in composing their essays. As a point of emphasis, I was under no illusion that these arguments represented anything other than the student perspective; in fact they needed to be for reasons of validity, given that the main research question and its subsidiaries all focus on the Emirati student perspective. In taking on one of the roles assigned, the students were simply being asked to imagine how *they* would view and address the issues raised by the enquiry if *they* were in the position of an Emirati parent, a school leader, a regulator, or a school owner.

At the end of the first session, the students are assigned the task of drafting an essay of 700 to 800 words in which they would present their points of view. Although individual interviews with each student would have been a viable option, I did not consider this possibility for two principal reasons. The first stems from a desire to minimize the influence that I may exert on the students' perspectives. By nature, interviews are interactive and therefore susceptible to 'investigator effects', even when the investigator takes extreme care in ensuring that he/she uses open-ended questions that do not confine the respondent into a rigid framework or way of thinking (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). The second reason for favouring essay composition over one-on-one interviews is to allow the students time and space to reflect on their own views and to express them in a succinct, thoughtful and planned fashion.

A fortnight after the conclusion of the first session, the participants meet again to discuss their essays within their assigned groups. At the end of the second session, they are given the choice of either taking their essays home for further refinement before submitting them electronically, or alternatively, they may opt to hand in their work there and then. The

collected essays are subsequently coded into 'loose networks' (Gough & Scott, 2000). The process of coding the essays transforms the nature of the data collected in phase 1 from being narrative (or thematic) into a format that allows for the collection and, subsequently, analysis of numerical data, as explained later in this chapter.

During phase 2 of the study, the 'loose networks' are used to generate an online questionnaire composed of tensions statements, reflecting the intrinsic strains within the organizing themes of the enquiry (Gough & Scott, 2000), and the phase 1 research participants are asked to respond to it. Feeding the tension statements back to the students whose essays helped create them in the first place is a means of validation, and forms an integral part of the triangulation approach built into the study's design. Subsequently, the questionnaire is put to other Emirati students, aged 15 to 18 years, selected from any of Dubai's English-medium private schools and the responses are analyzed statistically for variables such as frequency of occurrence and strength.

#### *4.4 Methods of Data Collection and Analysis*

In all, three methods of data collection are utilized during this study:

1. Data Collection Method 1: 'Background Survey' used as a standalone online questionnaire in the case of the phase 1 research participants, and incorporated into the 'Final Survey' (see Data Collection Method 3 below) used in phase 2. The 'Background Survey' seeks to collect data for the first part of the first objective (the exploration of how Emirati students who are in private education view bilingual education) and the first two subsidiary research questions. The survey, which is provided in Appendix 2, is composed of three sections:
  - Section 1: Biographical Data
  - Section 2: Language Background Scale
  - Section 3: Attitudes Towards Language
2. Data Collection Method 2: Essays authored by the phase 1 research participants are decoded into 'loose networks' (further detail is provided later in this section and in chapter 5). The student essays are meant to connect with both objectives of the study,

as well as address the main research question and all its subsidiaries. Appendix 9 includes all 12 essays collected from the research participants in phase 1.

3. Data Collection Method 3: 'Final Survey' used in phase 2, incorporating the 'Background Survey' as described above, as well as the 'tension statements' extracted from analysis of the students essays collected using Method 2 (further detail is provided later in this section and in chapter 5). The 'Final Survey' is meant to link with the study's two objectives, and to provide answers to the main research question and all eight subsidiaries. In addition to the three sections that form the 'Background Survey', the 'Final Survey' includes two further sections (these are provided in Appendix 3):
  - Section 4: Singular Tension Statements
  - Section 5: 'Tension Couplets'

As stated briefly in the above summary, the first data collection activity within each of the two phases of the enquiry requires the participants to complete a 'Background Survey'. In phase 1 the survey is provided in electronic format, and the students are asked to complete it in real time during the first of two face-to-face sessions planned for this phase. In phase 2, the same participant background survey used in phase 1 is provided online as part of an expanded questionnaire (the 'Final Survey'), which includes the tension statements generated through analysis of the phase 1 narrative data.

In 2016, as part of my EdD coursework, I conducted a trial study of the current enquiry, using data collection tools that are very similar to those described above (Azzam, 2016). The participant 'Background Survey' used in the 2016 trial study collected biographical as well as some socio-economic data and asked the student participants to rate their own use of language in various situations through a language background scale (Baker, 1992). It is important to emphasize that these questions probed *use* of language, and were not meant as a measurement of language *proficiency*. The questions included in the pilot study's language background scale were mostly closed-ended, where, on a five-point spectrum which starts with 'Almost always in Arabic' and ends with 'Almost always in English', each participant was asked in which language he/she spoke to his/her father, mother, siblings, housemaid, friends in the classroom, friends on the playground, etc. The purpose behind the collection of these data was to sketch the linguistic context of the student sample, which when analysed, had the potential

to reveal possible correlations or patterns between the language backgrounds of the participants and their positions with regards to the themes raised by the research (the participant 'Background Survey' used in the pilot study is provided in Appendix 1). However, in the context of the pilot investigation, in which the entire sample size for both phases was just five students, achieving this purpose was problematic, as I had stated in my concluding remarks:

... the background questionnaire was a crude and wholly inadequate tool for constructing a credible picture of the complexity of each participant's linguistic and socio-economic profiles, and any conclusions derived by forcing a link between data derived from the questionnaire and the participant's views would have been at best tenuous (Azzam, 2016; pp. 34).

I go on to state that:

... while knowledge of what influences people's views on bilingualism may be relevant to, say, a regulator, who might rely on such information when attempting to influence or persuade certain segments of society in favour of one model over another, this line of enquiry is a research topic in its own right, and is irrelevant to the objectives of my main enquiry. As a result, the participant background questionnaire will be simplified for the main enquiry" (Azzam, 2016; pp. 34).

For the current enquiry the relevance of the 'Background Survey' has less to do with profiling, and more to do with gaining an understanding of when and with whom Emirati students enrolled in Dubai's private schools make use of English versus Arabic. As a result, any questions probing socio-economic variables appearing in the 2016 version were eliminated. Also removed were questions that appeared in the pilot study participant survey that were open-ended, (such as: "which language or languages are your favourite, and why") in light of the fact that the survey will be put to a large number of participants in phase 2 and the data gathered will be analysed statistically. Appendix 2 presents sections 1 and 2 of the 'Background Survey' with questions probing 'Biographical Data' and the 'Language Background Scale' of the participants in both phases of the investigation, modified as described above to suit the requirements of the current enquiry.

Although the questions as laid out in sections 1 and 2 of Appendix 2 do offer insight into the linguistic practices of 15 to 18 year-old Emirati students enrolled in private schools in Dubai, they fail to capture any information on the respondents' attitudes towards these two

languages and their relative importance in their lives, or indeed their perceptions of their own command of these languages. The 'Background Survey', which through phase 2 of the investigation has the potential to reach hundreds of students, presents an opportunity to gain some comprehension of the extent to which Dubai's language dualism alluded to in the 'Introduction' chapter is relevant to the daily lives of young Emiratis; how, if at all, the power struggle between English and Arabic plays itself out in their experiences; and, the manner in which this struggle affects their perceptions of their own future, be that in tertiary education or in their professional lives. In the spirit of pragmatism, which is the guiding philosophy behind the enquiry's design, this was an opportunity not to be missed. As a result, the revised version of the participant 'Background Survey' includes statements that probe these themes, requiring the respondents to register their agreement or lack thereof on a five-point scale ('Strongly Agree', 'Somewhat Agree', 'Do not know', 'Somewhat Disagree' and 'Strongly Disagree'), mimicking the tension statements that will follow. These statements, now form section 3 of the 'Background Survey' and are provided in Appendix 2.

The second data collection activity, which only takes place in phase 1, is essay composition. Here, once again, the experience of the trial study identified a methodological failing, which rendered the role-play component of the design extraneous (Azzam, 2016). With little to guide them other than the study's objectives, and an assigned role, the participants in the pilot study wrote their essays with very little regard to the roles they were asked to adopt, which meant that role-play had very little to contribute to the study's findings. This fact was also supported by the feedback collected from the pilot's five participants, who all but admitted that they were not fully cognisant of their assigned roles when composing their written statements. To address this issue, the trial study suggested that the main enquiry should:

...include guiding questions that are tailored to the specific roles that they [the participants] are assigned before asking them to compose their arguments. These guiding questions will have to be carefully crafted so as to channel the participants towards addressing the study's specific requirements, while not imposing any external views on them (Azzam, 2016; pp. 33).

Appendix 4 catalogues the sets of questions each participant in phase 1 received in accordance with his/her assigned role. The extent to which this modification to the research tool in question was effective in addressing the concerns raised during the pilot study is discussed in the 'Reflections and Areas for Future Research' chapter.

The third and final data collection endeavour centres around the participants' responses to the tension statements derived from thematic analysis of the student essays (Boyatzis, 1998). Through this process each essay is coded into a 'loose network' where key words and phrases are identified from the text and links between them signified through connecting lines: a vertical line indicating a serial or causal link, and a horizontal line indicating a parallel association (Gough & Scott, 2000). This analytic method has the advantage of providing a condensed form of narrative data, while preserving the words, phrases and meanings used or intended by the original author. The reason that these networks are referred to as 'loose' is because the coding emerges from the data, as opposed to being moulded into a pre-existing/pre-coded framework, due to the *emic* nature of the research inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Details of how the 'loose networks' were constructed and the tension statements subsequently compiled are provided in chapter 5, and a case example is provided in Appendix 11.

At the beginning of phase 2, the tension statements are presented to phase 1 participants in an electronic format during their third and final in-person meeting. Although their responses could be solicited without the need to bring them all together in one place, having the students react to these statements under supervision is a means for any troubleshooting, should issues of comprehension or any other confusions arise. It is also an opportunity for them to understand the journey that the narrative data, which they had submitted at the end of their second meeting, have taken to generate the questionnaire. Barring any major issues arising from the phase 1 participants' responses to the questionnaire, the same tension statements are then put to the phase 2 respondents, through the 'Final Survey' as detailed earlier in this chapter. With permission first sought from the KHDA and the students' respective schools, each of the potential respondents from phase 2 receives an email containing a brief introduction to the study and its objectives and a link to the online 'Final Survey'. Based on the lesson learned from the trial study, where the participants were asked to respond to pairs of statements, in the current enquiry, participants in phases 1 and 2 are asked to respond to each of the two statements within a tension pair (or couplet) separately (Azzam, 2016). Not only does this eliminate any ambiguity in the responses<sup>13</sup>, but it also generates a measure of the relative

---

<sup>13</sup> *The ambiguity arises in instances where a respondent indicates his/her disagreement with a particular 'tension couplet'. In such cases, it is not clear which of the two statements within the couplet he/she disagrees with, nor indeed whether the disagreement applies to both statements.*

strength of each tension (Gough & Scott, 2000), as detailed in chapter 6. Responses to the 'Final Survey' questions during phase 2 are analysed statistically, with the aim of identifying certain correlations that may emerge linking responses to the tension statements with factors that relate to the participants' biographical data, language background scales or attitudes towards language (these and other aspects of data analysis are explored in further detail in chapter 6).

#### 4.5 Validity

Creswell (2002) categorizes mixed methods research into three types: *triangulation*, where quantitative and qualitative data are collected simultaneously and merged; *explanatory*, in which quantitative data is collected and analysed, following which qualitative data is gathered as a means for further explanation and/or elaboration; and *exploratory*, whereby qualitative data is collected first as a means to explore a certain phenomenon, followed by a quantitative phase which attempts to explain some of the relationships or findings derived from the qualitative phase. Although the current enquiry belongs to the third type, triangulation features prominently in its design strategy, most notably in the manner in which the study uses data converted from a narrative form (collected during an initial qualitative phase) into a quantitative form as detailed earlier in this chapter.

Much has been said in social science literature about the term *triangulation* and its relationship with *validity*, particularly within the context of mixed methodology research. As far back as the 1950's, triangulation was used to describe strategies that employed multiple methods of data collection in a single study with the aim of solving a certain research problem (Erzberger & Kelle, 2003). The prevailing thesis at the time was that conducting independent measurements of what is ostensibly the same phenomenon was a means of conversion, leading to a reinforcement of validity. Denzin (1978) coined the phrase 'methodological triangulation', defining it as a "complex process of playing each method off against the other so as to maximize the validity of field efforts" (pp. 304), thus leading to a diminishment of "threats to internal and external validity" (pp. 308). The thesis linking triangulation with validity does have its detractors, however, particularly in instances where the multiple methods used relate to different phenomena and/or are influenced by distinct epistemological conceptions that may be difficult or impossible to bridge (Fielding & Fielding, 1986). According to Flick (1998; pp.

230): “Triangulation is less a strategy for validating results and procedures than an alternative to validation... which increases scope, depth, and consistency in methodological proceedings”. In other words, triangulation becomes akin to the examination of a physical object from different angles, with each angle producing a different view (Erzberger & Kelle, 2003). The collective of these views leads to a much better understanding of the object under scrutiny. The current enquiry subscribes to this interpretation in its use of triangulation as a means to broaden scope and to probe into further depth, in addition to capturing a wider diversity of views and opinions as mentioned in the previous sections in this chapter.

Apart from its use of triangulation, the current enquiry employs a number of strategies to address concerns related to *internal validity* (the degree to which data gathered represent what they claim, the reliability of the data source, whether the study participants can relate to its findings, and whether the investigation, were it to be repeated with the same participants, would generate the same data), and to *external validity* (the extent to which the conclusions are consistent with existing knowledge and can be extrapolated to comparable settings) (Denscombe, 2010).

The narrative nature of the data collected in phase 1, and the manner in which it is analysed and coded into ‘loose networks’ imposes limitations on the *internal validity* of the investigation. People’s thoughts and opinions can change, and the manner in which they express their thoughts and opinions can also change. Consequently, even if phase 1 of the study were to be repeated with the same cohort of students at some point in the future, there is no guarantee that their statements would remain static; in fact the likelihood that they will evolve is high<sup>14</sup>. However, to the extent possible, the study does attempt to alleviate some of these applicability concerns by applying various strategies. These include:

- Explaining, with considerable care, the objectives of the enquiry and the main research question to the participants, verbally in the case of phase 1 respondents, and in writing for phase 2 respondents, so as to ensure all participants have the same foundations on which to build their arguments or express their opinions.

---

<sup>14</sup> As a case in point, one of the phase 1 participants in the current enquiry also took part in the pilot study two years earlier. Appendix 14 presents a thematic analysis of this student’s evolving positions.



- Centring the discussion and role-play activity as well as the guidelines for the essay composition on the main research question, while ensuring that these guidelines do not impose any external opinions on the student participants (see previous section for more detailed explanation).
- Feeding data collected from phase 1 participants by way of written arguments back to them in the form of the tension statements questionnaire to test the extent to which the participants continue to relate to the data as being their own, or at least unbiased reflections of them. This aspect is strengthened by the fact that the coding preserved to the greatest extent possible the language (key words and phrases) used by the participants in composing their essays (please refer to the Chapter 5 for further details).
- Selecting participants for both phases who possess the required maturity (judging by age alone) needed for reflection and expression of opinion on the themes raised by the study.

As far as the generalizability of results is concerned, this investigation lays no claim to generalizing its conclusions to the wider population of Emiratis living in Dubai, nor does it endeavour for its conclusions to be extrapolated to other comparable settings. The enquiry attempts to mitigate some of the issues that relate to *external validity* through:

- Selecting a participant sample in phase 1 composed of Emirati nationals aged 15 to 18 years who had spent most of their schooling years attending English-medium schools, and ensuring that the two participating schools are popular with Emirati families (see the 'Context' chapter for further details).
- Expanding the participant group in phase 2 to include, potentially, all Emirati students aged 15 to 18 years enrolled in English-medium private schools in Dubai.

#### 4.6 Ethics

This investigation was conducted with ethical respect for all participants and paid due respect to the sanctity of knowledge, democratic values and academic freedom (BERA, 2017).

Participation in both phases of the study was voluntary. Phase 1 participants were required to obtain the written consent of at least one of their parents or guardians as a condition for taking part, while participants in phase 2 were asked, through the 'Final Survey', to confirm that they had secured their parents' consent to take part in the research project. Parents of the phase 1 participants were provided with a brief summary of the enquiry's objectives, and the nature of the activities in which their children were expected to engage (the parent information letter and consent form is provided in Appendix 5). Parents of the phase 1 participants were also invited to attend an information session prior to the commencement of any data gathering activities. A similar information sheet to the one used in phase 1 was sent to the parents of phase 2 participants. Parents were assured that the anonymity of their children would be protected at all stages of the study, and that they had the right to withdraw their consent at any time. Similarly, participants were informed that they were entitled to cease their participation at any stage during the investigation, resulting in all artefacts related to them being destroyed. The participant 'Background Survey' used to solicit responses from phase 1 and phase 2 participants did not ask for their names nor any other information that might help identify them, thus guaranteeing their anonymity. All data collected from participants in the study (phases 1 and 2) were handled and stored in the strictest confidence.

\* \* \*

The research design for this study follows a mixed methods dual phased sequential approach, reflecting a kind of third way epistemological paradigm that sits in the conceptual space between positivism/postpositivism and constructivism (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007). Phase 1, characterized by its *exploratory* character, in which data is generated directly from a sample of 10 to 20 students through written arguments, follows a qualitative framework. Phase 2, which is more *confirmatory* in nature, where a broader sample of students is asked to respond to a questionnaire composed of statements extracted from coding of the essays collected during phase 1, uses a quantitative framework.

During phase 1 of the investigation, the research participants meet twice. In session 1, the students are first asked to complete a questionnaire (the 'Background Survey' composed of three sections) of mostly closed-ended questions designed to reveal some of their biographical data, language background and attitudes towards Arabic and English. After completing the

questionnaire, the participants are provided with some contextual information about the study, its aims and main research question. Each student in the group is then assigned one of five roles: Emirati student, Emirati parent, school leader, policy maker, or school owner/operator. In session 2, which takes place a fortnight after the first, students present their views through a 700 to 800 word essay and receive feedback from their peers; the essays are subsequently submitted for analysis.

Phase 2 of the study centres around 'tension statements' generated through the exercise of coding the students' essays into 'loose networks' (Gough & Scott, 2000). As part of phase 2, the resulting tension statements are put to the phase 1 participants during a third and final meeting, as a means of triangulation. Subsequently, a questionnaire (the 'Final Survey' composed of the tension statements in addition to all three sections that make up the 'Background Survey') is put to a much broader sample of Emirati students selected from any of Dubai's English-medium private schools.

The ensuing two chapters narrate the journey that took place during the data gathering process across the two phases of the enquiry. They also describe, in brief, the strategies that were applied in the analysis of the data, before presenting the findings from each phase.

## CHAPTER 5: PHASE 1 – DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter is divided into three sections. Section 5.1 recounts the key events and milestones relating to phase 1 data collection, which resulted in the accumulation of 12 essays authored by the research participants who took part in this phase of the investigation. Following that, section 5.2 describes the thematic analysis that was utilized to extract findings from the student essays, and provides an explanation of the process in which these essays were, inductively, transformed from their original narrative state into ‘loose networks’ (Gough & Scott, 2000). Section 5.3 presents the findings from phase 1.

Before proceeding further in this chapter, it is worth pausing briefly to explain the planning that went into the various data collection activities, which resulted in the development of an ‘Action Plan’ in the form of the Gantt Chart shown in Figure 7<sup>15</sup>. The construction of the Action Plan began with breaking down the first two data collection methods listed in section 4.4 (namely, the ‘Background Survey’ and student essays) into their component activities. For example, the actions required to complete the first and second data collection methods, both of which relate to phase 1 of the enquiry, were:

1. Develop ‘Background Survey’ using an online software programme.
2. Select target schools that fit the desired profile (English-medium with a relatively high concentration of Emirati students) and make initial contact.
3. Finalize the pair of participating schools.
4. Send general invitation (with assistance from participating schools) to all students who fit the desired profile (Emiratis between the ages of 15 and 18).
5. Conduct introductory meeting with potential student participants in each of the two schools.
6. Collect signed parental consent forms from confirmed list of student participants.

---

<sup>15</sup> Note the notation ‘W’ followed by one of the digits 1 to 5 appearing underneath the month titles in Figure 7 refers to ‘Week’. Where a partial week fell within any given month, it was fully allocated to that month in the case where the partial week was composed of four or more days, which explains why certain months were considered to have five weeks and others four. As for the yellow diamond shapes, they signify sequence, with the completion of one activity leading to the initiation of the ensuing one.

7. Send all confirmed participants a hyperlink, via electronic mail ('email'), to the online 'Background Survey'; collect responses.
8. Conduct first formal session with student participants in which role-play is assigned.
9. Conduct second formal session in which each student participant presents his/her essay; collect essays.
10. Transform student essays into 'loose networks'; extract list of tension statements

For each activity listed above, a projected start date and duration was assigned. Some of these activities were sequential, such as the series beginning with Activity 2 and ending in Activity 7, as well as the series beginning with Activity 8 and ending in Activity 10. Activities 1 and 2, however, as well as 7 and 8, could overlap since the initiation of the latter in each of these pairs is not dependent on the completion of the former. In addition, and wherever relevant, the Action Plan as laid out in Figure 7 took note of any documents or some similar tools that a given activity may require in order for it to be accomplished, and, again, wherever relevant, listed any documentary evidence for the activity to be judged as 'complete'. As a case in point, Activity 8 lists as part of its 'Pre-requisite Documents/Tools' the Student Information Sheet, as well as the guiding questions for the five role-plays, prepared and printed on individual postcard-sized paper. Under 'Evidence of Completion' for Activity 9, the Action Plan mentions the collected student compositions.

**Figure 7: Phase 1 – Data Collection and Analysis Action Plan**

No.	Task	November '17				December '17				January '18					February '18				Pre-requisite document(s)/tool(s)	Evidence of completion	
		W2	W3	W4	W5	W1	W2	W3	W4	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W1	W2	W3	W4			
Phase 1 Data Collection & Analysis																					
1	Develop 'Background Survey'	■																	N/A	All 3 parts of survey completed	
2	Select target schools and make initial contact	■	■	■															Introductory letter to school principals	Email correspondence	
3	Finalize list of participating schools			■	■														N/A	Confirmation email from school	
4	Send general invitation to all students who fit the desired profile				■	■													N/A	N/A	
5	Conduct introductory meeting with potential student participants					■	■												N/A	N/A	
6	Collect signed parental consent forms						■	■	■										Parent Info. Letter and Consent Form	Signed letters	
7	Send weblink to 'Background Survey'; collect responses							■	■	■	■								Email to participants	Completed surveys	
8	Conduct first formal session with student participants								■	■	■	■	■						Student Info. Sheet; guiding questions	N/A	
9	Conduct second formal session with student participants; collect essays												■	■					N/A	Completed essays	
10	Transform essays into 'loose networks' and extract tension statements													■	■	■	■	■	N/A	Loose networks; tension statements	

### *5.1 Phase 1 – Data Collection*

In preparation for phase 1 data collection I initiated contact with the principals of the two target schools, AAM and DIS. A brief profile of the two schools and an explanation for why they were selected for participation in this phase of the enquiry is provided in the 'Context' chapter (please refer to section 2.6). In both cases, first contact was made through email in late October/early November 2017. I deliberately chose not to correspond earlier in the Autumn due to the fact that I knew both schools were scheduled to undergo inspections by the local regulatory authority sometime between the start date of the academic year (September 10, 2017) and the middle of October. Although both principals expressed initial support for the project, after a few email exchanges through which the types of activities that I had planned for the student participants became clear, the DIS principal expressed concerns over whether any student of his school would actually volunteer his/her time to do this. His exact words were:

Will be glad to work with you on your research project; however I doubt that students will be willing to participate as this would require of them so much work. You are welcome to come in and visit the school and discuss this with the section heads and talk to students as well.

Having experienced similar responses from other schools during my pilot study (Azzam, 2016), I did not wish to expend any further time or effort that may well prove to be abortive. Fortunately, I had another Taaleem-owned school, Jumeira Baccalaureate School (JBS), in waiting for just such an eventuality. Although it does not offer an American (US) style curriculum like AAM, JBS is nevertheless an English-medium school with a fair representation of Emiratis in its student population. More importantly, it was more than willing to accommodate me within very short notice. A brief profile of JBS is provided in Appendix 6.

On 6 November 2017 I met AAM's Principal and its Acting Head of Secondary School (in short, 'AHSS'); from that date onwards the AHSS became my key point of contact. Having disseminated the 'Parent Information Letter and Consent Form' among the Grade 10 to Grade 12 Emirati students in her school (see Appendix 5), the AHSS arranged an introductory session with perspective candidates to take place on 16 November 2017. A total of 12 students attended the introductory session, although only nine of them later managed to obtain their parents' consent. The first formal session with the nine participants took place on 13 December 2017, during which I provided an introduction to the aims of the study as well as a brief

explanation of the methodology it adopts and the underlying theory that it seeks to inform. All this I had previously summarized in a short paper entitled 'Participant Information Sheet' (please see Appendix 7); each participant was given a copy of this sheet. Since my time with the students was limited to only 25 minutes (we were meeting during their school lunch break), there was little time for discussion or questions. The students were each assigned by random draw a role-play, either student, parent, school leader, school owner/operator or regulator, and were given guiding questions to help them with their essays. Prior to session 1, I had emailed the nine participants a hyperlink to the 'Background Survey'<sup>16</sup>.

The second session with the AAM participants took place on 19 February 2018. By then one of the nine students had dropped out. Although the remaining eight participants had all answered the 'Background Survey', only three had completed their essays. Session 2 was attended by four students only, during which the three who had completed their essays read their compositions aloud. A few comments were made, but, once more, shortness of time stood in the way of any prolonged discussion on the points raised by the students' written arguments. It was not until the third week of March that the remaining five participants had submitted their essays via email.

Data gathering at JBS followed a similar pattern. There, my principal contact was the Diploma Programme Coordinator. The introductory meeting with potential participants took place on 23 November 2017, with over 25 students in attendance. By 7 December 2017, only five students had submitted their signed parental consent forms. Two days later I sent those students a hyperlink to the 'Background Survey', and three days after that we met for the first formal session, by which time one of the five candidates had withdrawn. The second formal session with the remaining four participants took place on 13 March 2018. All four essays were submitted on or within a few days of that meeting.

Table 1 below provides a summary of the key events and milestones that characterized the data collection journey during phase 1.

---

<sup>16</sup> As mentioned in the 'Methodology' chapter, I had originally planned for the participants to respond to the Background Survey during the first session for two reasons: (1) to ensure that they all complete the task, and (2) to offer any assistance should they fail to understand any or some of the questions. The brevity of the time allotted to the session prevented this from happening, requiring the participants to respond to the survey online on their own time. All had completed the survey independently before the session took place.

**Table 1: Phase 1 Data Collection – Summary of Key Events and Milestones**

No.	Event / Milestone	AAM Completion Date	JBS Completion Date
1	Introductory meeting with Principal and/or designated appointee	06-Nov-17	13-Nov-17
2	Introductory session held with potential research participants	16-Nov-17	23-Nov-17
<b>Milestone 1: Parental consent forms collected (9 from AAM, 5 from JBS)</b>		<b>28-Nov-18</b>	<b>12-Dec-17</b>
3	Hyperlink to 'Background Survey' sent to participants	28-Nov-18	9-Dec-17
4	First formal session with participants	13-Dec-17	12-Dec-17
<b>Milestone 2: Participants complete 'Background Survey' (8 from AAM, 4 from JBS)</b>		<b>14-Dec-18</b>	<b>19-Feb-18</b>
5	Second formal session with participants	19-Feb-18	13-Mar-18
<b>Milestone 3: Participants submit essays (8 from AAM, 4 from JBS)</b>		<b>18-Mar-18</b>	<b>15-Mar-18</b>

Before proceeding to the analysis of phase 1 data, I would like to offer the following two comments. As described above, the timeline between early/mid-November 2017 when initial contact with the schools was made, until the 18 March 2018 when the last participant essay was submitted, may come across as being free of any setbacks. Nothing can be further from the truth, as research of this kind, which places considerable demands on the participants, rarely is (McKinley & Rose, 2017). The large time gap between the first and second formal sessions was something I had not anticipated, due largely to my experience during the pilot project in which a single week separated the two events (Azzam, 2016). It was perhaps unfortunate that the first session in both schools happened just before the three-week winter break (mid-December to early January), and that upon their return to school in January the students at AAM were occupied with mid-year examinations, while their counterparts at JBS had their full attention drawn towards finalizing their extended essays for the International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme, due at the end of the month. Another mid-term break in early February prevented me from seeing the students at AAM until the third week of the month, while JBS had the added complication of a visit from the local inspections bureau in



early March. In fact, it was not until the 18<sup>th</sup> of March that I was sure of receiving all 12 essays from the participants at the two schools.

The second comment concerns ethics, and in particular the aspect related to the demand placed on the time of these very busy students by my data gathering activities during this phase of the enquiry. To exasperate matters, each of the six sessions (three per school) that I had with the two cohorts took place during their 25-minute lunch breaks. My offer of providing nourishment in the form of fresh pizzas did ameliorate the situation, somewhat, and my humble offer of thanks upon completion of all data gathering activities in the form of a box of chocolates along with an open letter of reference (sample provided in Appendix 8) which the participants were free to use in any suitable circumstance (for example, as an addendum to their university applications), were both well received. Despite it all, I was surprised and delighted by the reactions of the students once the process had come to a conclusion. Here is an example of one such reaction, which was sent by one of the participants, unsolicited:

I would like to thank you so much for the very appreciated gift! You really didn't have to; it was a pleasure to be involved in such research... I really did benefit a lot from it. – *Participant A-1*

## *5.2 Phase 1 – Data Analysis*

In light of the fact that data gathered in the form of the participants' essays during phase 1 of the enquiry serve as fuel for the next phase of data gathering, careful attention needed to be applied in their analysis. This section describes the methods used in analyzing and processing these data. However, prior to delving into the mechanics of the process, it is worth mentioning briefly the other data gathered during phase 1, namely responses collected from the 12 participants to the 'Background Survey'. Unlike in phase 2, where the data collected from the first three sections of the 'Final Survey' (which are in fact equivalent to the phase 1 'Background Survey') are analyzed numerically for patterns or correlations, the data collected through the 'Background Survey' from the phase 1 research participants are not subject to such analysis; as a matter of fact it would be meaningless even to consider such a notion, given the small sample size (Bryman, 1988). For the purpose of phase 1, therefore, these data serve the sole function of providing some contextual backdrop for each participant, which may prove useful in understanding the views expressed in his/her composition. This point is expounded further in section 5.3 ('Phase 1 – Findings').

During the first phase of my data gathering pursuits, conducted between the months of November 2017 and March 2018, I was able to collect 12 essays: eight from the participants attending AAM and four from the participants enrolled at JBS. The roles of parent, school owner/operator and regulator were represented twice each within the sample of essays collected, while student and school leader each featured three times. Eight of the 12 essays fell, largely, within the target word count range of 700 to 800 words. One essay of the 12 was only 250 words long, another 920 words long, whereas the remaining two compositions crossed the 1,000 words mark. All 12 essays are provided in Appendix 9.

Analysis of the essays followed a *categorical strategy*, in which narrative data are broken down into smaller units and then re-arranged into categories to facilitate a better understanding of the research questions (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). During the process of breaking down the data, certain themes emerged, inductively, that were specific to each essay (Boyatzis, 1998; Kuckarts, 2014). In all, six themes arose from the student composition collective, each with a related question, mirroring to a large extent some of the subsidiary questions raised by the enquiry (please refer to the 'Introduction' chapter for a reminder of the eight subsidiary questions). These themes were:

- *Theme 1: the relative status afforded to Arabic and English.*
- *Theme 2: the bilingual model's place within Dubai's private education system.*
- *Theme 3: the benefits of bilingual education.*
- *Theme 4: obstacles standing in the way of the establishment of an Arabic-English bilingual model.*
- *Theme 5: what a successful Arabic-English bilingual model might look like.*
- *Theme 6: issues with the way that Arabic is currently taught in private schools.*

The first step in the analysis of each individual essay was to identify which of the six themes were present. The second step involved highlighting key phrases and sentences in the essay. In doing so, I followed the principle of being as exhaustive as possible, whereby only in cases of almost verbatim repetition, or phrases and sentences that had no bearing whatsoever to the general topic of the research (which were rare), were the phrases/sentences in question ignored. Through this process, the 12 essays produced a grand total of 182 separate phrases and sentences, which were then categorized across the six themes mentioned above. Where

appropriate, the phrases/sentences were labelled as either 'Arguments For' or 'Arguments Against' the theme in question. As a case in point, consider the following three sentences (the first two are extracted from the essay submitted by Participant A-4 from AAM, whereas the third was obtained from Participant A-1's composition, also a student at AAM):

Statement 1: Arabic and English are used equally in Dubai private schools (Participant A-4).

Statement 2: The challenges for bilingual education are it is hard to make time to learn each language and studying them (Participant A-4).

Statement 3: Private schools in Dubai do not treat Arabic and English on an equal footing (Participant A-1).

Statements 1 and 3 offer arguments in favour of and against, respectively, the first theme's related question (*"Do the Arabic and English languages enjoy equal status?"*). Statement 2 belongs to the fourth theme emerging from the student compositions. The statement is neither an 'Argument For' nor an 'Argument Against', since the theme itself does not lend itself to that type of categorization. Statement 2 in fact simply offers the student's opinion on what she constitutes to be one of the obstacles facing bilingual education in Dubai. Appendix 10 lists all 182 phrases and sentences, categorized and labelled as illustrated above.

The thematic analysis of the student essays was instrumental in organizing the key words and phrases extracted from the data and, subsequently, linking them, where appropriate, through connecting lines into 'loose networks' (Gough & Scott, 2000). Appendix 11 presents a step-by-step illustration of how the 'loose networks' were constructed by considering Participant J-1's essay as a case example. All twelve 'loose networks' are provided in Appendix 12.

### *5.3 Phase 1 – Findings*

The principal findings from the first phase of the study are the tension statements, derived from the thematic analysis and subsequent coding into 'loose networks' of the student essays, as described in the preceding section. The process of classifying the subset of the 182 phrases/sentences as 'Arguments For' or 'Arguments Against' the underlying themes to which they are related rendered the task of identifying pairs of opposing arguments fairly trivial. Across all six themes, 14 'tension couplets' emerged, as shown in Table 2 below.

**Table 2: ‘Tension Couplets’ Emerging from Analysis of the Participant Essays**

1	Arabic and English are used equally in Dubai private schools.	Private schools in Dubai do not treat Arabic and English on an equal footing.
2	In the UAE workfield today and in the future, Arabic is a predominantly used language.	The globalization of Dubai, where English has gradually started to take shift as a more prominent language, given the high percentage of expatriates.
3	As a local working in the UAE, Arabic is a necessity in order to communicate strongly or at least correctly.	When it comes to business and matters of trade, the English language tends to be the most common currency.
4	We [Emiratis] must be able to balance the two [languages] without overriding one on the other.	I don't think Emirati students that attend private schools really yearn an Arabic and English bilingual education.
5	I would like to believe that if the dual language immersion was applied to all schools for Arab and non-Arab students, it would be treated welcomingly.	Many private schools are made up of tons of international students; English is the only way most students can understand and be taught in.
6	The majority of schools in Dubai are, in fact, bilingual.	Although several methods [of bilingual models] exist, not many schools in the UAE follow them.
7	In Dubai, there is a high demand in the market for Arabic-English bilingual schools.	Many people disagree with the idea of a bilingual speaking school.
8	I wouldn't be sacrificing really anything if I were to choose a bilingual model over an English medium model for my child.	By choosing to enroll my child in a bilingual model I would be sacrificing my child's future.
9	Being bilingual, it turns out, makes you smarter, gives you cross-cultural access, and future employment advantages.	Having two main languages being taught and spoken would cause dispersion of student thinking.
10	Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for closing the gap between language learners and native speakers.	In many [bilingual schools] there is a dominant language, then a second language.
11	Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for producing language learners with higher long-term academic outcomes than those educated monolingual.	A bilingual program can also result in an adverse effect on the overall academic development.
12	It [bilingual education] allows parents to let their kids reach their goals and become superior in the future and with their jobs.	It would be overwhelming for students to cope and in the end their procrastination would take over and cause them to fail.
13	The bilingual model plays an important role in the learning and teaching process.	However, it [a bilingual model] won't be very successful and effective.
14	Arabic classes don't pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; the Ministry of Education should prohibit the teaching of formal Arabic after middle school.	The classical Arabic should be a paramount part of our daily lives, and not be seen as a required course taken only in school.

The induction of tension statements could have ended there, as indeed was the case during the pilot study conducted in 2016 (Azzam, 2016). However, examination of the remaining key phrases and sentences extracted from the essays and their related themes, revealed that some of these themes did not lend themselves well to the mould of ‘argument versus counterargument’. This was particularly true within themes 4, 5 and 6, in which the vast majority of the arguments put forward by the students presented their points of view on, for example, what would constitute the ‘ideal’ bilingual model, or what factors stood in the way of its realization, without necessarily, as a collective, forwarding any opposing or contradictory views. It became clear that by limiting my selection to just those instances where a literal tension existed between a pair of phrases/sentences, I would be eliminating a substantial body of arguments that were highly relevant to the research questions under investigation. As a result, I chose to extend the phase 2 survey (referred to as the ‘Final Survey’) to now include what I call ‘tension singulars’ selected from the remaining 154 key phrases/sentences that did not make it into the 14 couplets. In filtering these singulars I followed two simple rules: (1) eliminate any statements that I judged to be repetitive, and (2) remove any statements that I judged fell outside the boundary of what was relevant to the main research question and its subsidiaries. This resulted in an additional 18 ‘tension singulars’ that now completed the ‘Final Survey’ utilized in phase 2 (see Table 3 below).

**Table 3: ‘Tension Singulars’ Emerging from Analysis of the Participant Essays**

1	Delivering international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model does have many challenges.
2	The challenges for bilingual education are most teachers were educated monolingual; finding, training and keeping them is a challenge.
3	The challenges for bilingual education are it is hard to make time to learn each language and studying them.
4	The cost for following a bilingual education model is high.
5	It is important that the government with other stakeholders take the initiative to educate the public on the benefits of this model, especially if implemented in international programs.
6	To evolve the idea of an Arabic-English core education for Emirati students, we must bring into play the use of Arabic in everyday tasks not only at home, but at school as well.
7	The model must be relevant to all nationalities.
8	If I had the opportunity to create a bilingual programme, I would make sure that the subjects would be divided equally between Arabic and English.

<b>9</b>	An Arabic-English bilingual program would offer an equal amount of Arabic and English speaking staff or all staff members would be bilingual.
<b>10</b>	An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to ensure that the mission of the schools also includes the goal of equal status of English and Arabic.
<b>11</b>	An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to ensure team teaching, i.e, two homeroom instructors in every classroom [native speaker of Arabic and of English].
<b>12</b>	Different programs should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all.
<b>13</b>	Younger students are more capable to process and absorb information... and are able to flip between languages.
<b>14</b>	I wouldn't recommend continuing the model into the secondary school.
<b>15</b>	Arabic scholars preaching importance of preserving language tend to dismiss the rich culture and pride behind one's dialect – ultimately failing to save another dying branch of the language.
<b>16</b>	The new generation struggles with finding common ground with the Arabic spoken by their parents and elders.
<b>17</b>	Offering classes like Emirati Studies [instead of classical Arabic] in which Emirati teachers come and teach students their rich dialect and cultural heritage.
<b>18</b>	Emirati students who attend public schools are relatively more proficient in both the formal and informal Arabic, as their environment allows them to apply the language more often.

\* \* \*

The principal focus of phase 1 of the enquiry, which took just over 4 months to complete, was the collection and analysis of narrative data sourced from a sample of 12 Emirati students attending two private schools in Dubai: AAM and JBS. Each student authored a short essay (the essays ranged from 250 words to just over 1,000 words). Six primary themes emerged from analysis of the essays, which correlated strongly with some of the subsidiary questions raised by the enquiry. Through coding of the essays into 'loose networks', 14 'tension couplets' and 18 'tension singulars' were extracted. These were used to complete the 'Final Survey', which is the principal data collection tool used in phase 2 of the study, as detailed in the next chapter.

Before progressing to phase 2, however, I would like to highlight a singular event that took place during the first phase of the investigation. By a stroke of good fortune, one of the participants from phase 1, a student at AAM (referred to as participant A-8) also took part in the pilot study that I conducted two years earlier (Azzam, 2016). Appendix 13 presents A-8's essay from 2016. I choose to highlight this event not simply because of the striking effect that the passage of time has had on the views of this student, but more importantly because of the insights that her evolving perspective might offer by way of broadening our understanding of

the arena of linguistic contestation within which young Emiratis conduct their lives. The 'Conclusion' chapter addresses this topic briefly. An in-depth thematic analysis of A-8's two essays is presented in Appendix 14.

## CHAPTER 6: PHASE 2 – DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

In a fashion mirroring that of chapter 5, this chapter begins with a narrative of the key events that took place during the data collection period in phase 2 (section 6.1), before going on to describe how the data were analysed (section 6.2) and presenting the findings (section 6.3). The data collection and analysis activities for this phase of the enquiry relate to the third data collection method listed in section 4.4 (namely: the ‘Final Survey’). As part of the planning process, the component activities required to complete this method were listed against an aspirational timeline, as outlined in Figure 8 below.

**Figure 8: Phase 2 – Data Collection and Analysis Action Plan**

No.	Task	February '18					March '18					April '18					May '18					June '18			Pre-requisite document(s)/tool(s)	Evidence of completion		
		W1	W2	W3	W4		W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W1	W2	W3				
Phase 2 Data Collection & Analysis																												
11	Test 'tension statements' on phase 1 participants																								Tension statements questionnaire	Completed questionnaire		
12	Develop 'Full Survey'																								All five sections, finalised and edited	All 5 parts of survey completed		
13	Solicit KHDA support for dissemination of survey																								Introductory letter to KHDA	Email correspondence		
14	Finalise list of schools to be invited to take part in phase 2																								N/A	Final list of participating schools		
15	Send information letter plus weblink to 'Full Survey' to participating schools																								School Info. Letter	Email correspondence		
16	Collect and analyze data																								N/A	Completed surveys; statistical results		

### 6.1 Phase 2 – Data Collection

The extraction of tension statements, both singulars and couplets, through analysis of the student essays as detailed in the previous chapter, meant that phase 2 data collection could now proceed. The tension statements, once extracted, were put to the 12 participants in phase 1, as a means of triangulation (see ‘Methodology’ chapter). As it was late in the academic year, I decided against doing this face-to-face as was originally planned, and simply shared a hyperlink to a ‘Tension Statement Questionnaire’ with them. Only seven students completed it. Of course, losing the opportunity to meet and interact with the students for a third time meant that the primary objective of this activity (to allow the original authors of the essays from which the tension statements were derived to review and comment on them) was largely lost. Consequently, I had to proceed with incorporating the tension statements into the ‘Final Survey’ without this source of feedback.



My next task was to construct the 'Final Survey' composed of the three sections that made up the 'Background Survey' from phase 1: (1) Biographical Data, (2) Language Background Scale and (3) Attitudes Towards Language (see 'Methodology' chapter for more details), plus two additional sections: (4) The Bilingual Model (Singular Statements) and (5) The Bilingual Model (Couplets). The third and final task was to secure the participation of as broad a sample as possible of Dubai-based English-medium private schools with a relatively high representation of Emirati students<sup>17</sup>. The remainder of this section details how these tasks were achieved.

Although the production of the 'Final Survey' at first glance may seem a trivial matter of assembling the various component parts, care had to be exercised in deciding the final wording of the tension singulars and couplets, to ensure that the final version reaching the phase 2 respondents was free of errors and obscurities. To this end, I subjected these statements to my own detailed review to achieve consistency in the use of spelling and grammar (ostensibly applying British standards over American), as well as clarifying context, where appropriate, to eliminate the risk of confusion on the part of the respondent. In addition, some statements where the first person was used were converted to a passive voice. Naturally, great caution was taken when editing these statements in order to preserve the intended meaning of their original authors, as detailed below.

A few statements escaped my internal review completely unscathed. Statements 14 and 16 as listed in Table 3 are two such examples. Cases where the only changes made related to spelling included 'tension singular' 12 in which the word 'program' was changed to 'programme'. Instances where the edits were driven purely in the interest of correcting grammatical errors, included 'tension singular' 1, which was transformed from: "Delivering international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model does have many challenges" to "Delivering an international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model has many challenges". When it came to cases of context either missing or being unclear, the transformations were a bit more heavy-handed. For example, left in its original state, 'tension singular' 7 ("The model must be relevant to all nationalities") could potentially leave the respondent somewhat puzzled. What model and to what purpose, the person may ask. As a result, this statement was replaced with:

---

<sup>17</sup> *Given the relatively small percentage of Emiratis in Dubai's total population (see further details in the 'Context' chapter), any school whose student cohort had 10% or more Emiratis qualified to take part in phase 2.*

“For it to be effective, the Arabic-English bilingual model must be relevant to all nationalities”. Appendix 15 lists all 18 ‘tension singulars’ before and after editing. The 14 ‘tension couplets’ underwent similar transformations, as shown in Appendix 16.

With all five components of the ‘Final Survey’ completed, my next task was to identify potential participating schools that would permit its dissemination among their Emirati students aged between 15 and 18 years. I had one of two options. The first was to rely on my own network of school owners and principals, and hope, through goodwill, that they would agree to take part in my research. The second was to approach the regulator, the Knowledge and Human Development Authority (KHDA), and solicit its support in circulating the survey across all English-medium schools with a high representation of Emirati students. The second option was by far the more attractive of the two, as it offered me an opportunity to access schools that I, left to my own devices, would not have been able to achieve.

I made first contact with the KHDA’s Chief of Partnership, Research and Development on 06 May 2018, and held my first meeting with her a few days later. She was very accommodating, and I was immediately introduced to the Director of Research who, over the ensuing three weeks, was able to secure formal approval from the concerned committee to support my research (the KHDA’s letter of support is provided in Appendix 18). The Director of Research did also share with me his comments on a few of the tension singulars and couplets, and suggested that I should include a clarifying statement at the beginning of sections 4 and 5 of the ‘Final Survey’ explaining that some of the statements may ask the participants to adopt various perspectives. In response I inserted the following remark immediately after the ‘Section 4’ title in the survey:

In Sections 4 and 5 you will be presented with statements, either as singulars or couplets, that aim to uncover your views of bilingual education. Some of these statements may ask you to take the perspective of an Emirati parent, a school official, or someone in the workforce.

As for the individual comments concerning the tension singulars and couplets, there were four in total: three in connection with ‘tension singulars’ 15, 26, and 29, and one related to ‘tension couplet’ 14A. The comments are presented in Table 4 below.

**Table 4: Comments Received from the KHDA**

	Statement (post the initial refinement)	Comment
15	Delivering an international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model has many challenges.	<i>I suggest that you change this to read: "A school that delivers an international curriculum..."</i>
26	Different programmes should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all.	<i>Do you mean "Different approaches to bilingual education should be made available..."?</i>
29	Insistence on teaching classical Arabic in schools exclusively dismisses the rich culture and pride behind the Emirati dialect, ultimately failing to save yet another dying branch of the language.	<i>Potentially remove the phrase after "behind the Emirati dialect". It's quite strongly worded and emotionally charged.</i>
14A	Arabic classes do not pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; the Ministry of Education should prohibit the teaching of classical Arabic after middle school.	<i>Can we remove the reference to the Ministry of Education? We don't want to be in the situation of advocating for a researcher to ask questions that propose the Ministry to do things against its current policy. Perhaps change to "Arabic classes do not pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; classical Arabic should not be taught after middle school".</i>

I accepted the suggested changes, and transformed the statements as shown in Table 5 below.

**Table 5: Transformation of Statements Singled Out by the KHDA – Before & After Editing**

	Before Editing	After Editing
15	Delivering an international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model has many challenges.	A school that delivers an international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model has many challenges.
26	Different programmes should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all.	Different approaches to bilingual education should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all.
29	Insistence on teaching classical Arabic in schools exclusively dismisses the rich culture and pride behind the Emirati dialect, ultimately failing to save yet another dying branch of the language.	Insistence on teaching classical Arabic in schools exclusively dismisses the rich culture and pride behind the Emirati dialect.
14A	Arabic classes do not pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; the Ministry of Education should prohibit the teaching of classical Arabic after middle school.	Arabic classes do not pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; classical Arabic should not be taught after middle school.

The above edits meant that the 'Final Survey' was ready for distribution sometime in late May 2018. I had previously shared with the KHDA's Director of Research an introductory letter addressed to the principals of the phase 2 participating schools, which contained within it a hyperlink to the 'Final Survey' (the letter is provided in Appendix 17). On 06 June 2018 the KHDA's Director of Research wrote to me stating the following:

Please find attached a letter from KHDA in support of your research. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to contact schools directly on behalf of university-based researchers. We can provide you with emails and contact details of the relevant schools that are your target audience.

Later that afternoon he provided me with the names of the 13 English-medium schools (plus four branch campuses) that are most popular with Emirati families, and the number of Emirati students in each who are enrolled in Grades 8 to 12. This unexpected, and rather unfortunate, development meant that I had to revert to my contingency plan, namely relying on my own network of friends and acquaintances in the field. I immediately set about selecting the schools within KHDA's list of 13 where I believed I had some leverage or connection. The resulting list, which became my target catalogue of schools for the purpose of phase 2 data collection, contained 10 names, six of which belonged to the KHDA's list of 13, while the remaining four (namely The International School of Choueifat, Dar Al Marefa School, Uptown School and Jumeira Baccalaureate School) did not. Table 6 below provides the names of these schools, the curriculum they offer, their total student enrolment (2017-18), the total number of Emiratis attending each school, as well as the estimated number of Emiratis in Grades 8 to 12<sup>18</sup>.

**Table 6: Catalogue of Target Schools for Phase 2**

No.	Name of School	Total Student Enrolment	Total # of Emiratis	# of Emiratis in Grades 8 to 12
1	Al Ittihad Private School (two campuses)	4,074	3,482	1,067
2	Al Mawakeb School (two campuses)	5,353	1,039	617
3	Dubai International Private School (two campuses)	4,424	2,362	891

<sup>18</sup> For some of the schools in Table 6 the figure for the number of Emiratis in Grades 8 to 12 was provided by KHDA, and therefore is assumed to be exact. For the four schools not on KHDA's list I had to make an intelligent guess using whatever data I had available to me and the application of simple arithmetic assumptions on proportionality.

4	Dubai National School (two campuses)	4,463	2,920	1,038
5	The International School of Choueifat	3,946	301	111
6	Dar Al Marefa School	710	537	198
7	Al Mizhar American Academy School	638	463	171
8	Uptown School	1,410	385	142
9	The School of Research Science	3,629	2,633	364
10	Jumeira Baccalaureate School	791	260	96

(KHDA, 2017)

The total number of Emirati students enrolled in the above 10 schools is 14,382, representing just under 25% of the total Emirati student population in Dubai's private school sector. Moreover, the sum total of Emirati students in Grades 8 to 12 attending any of the 10 schools listed above is 4,695, from which an estimate of the number in Grades 10 and above can be derived, this being the group targeted by the phase 2 survey. This figure amounts to a sample of 2,250 to 2,650 students<sup>19</sup>. Even if only 20% of these students were to complete the 'Final Survey', that would translate into an average sample size of 500 participants, which, if achieved would be statistically relevant when compared to the total population the sample is supposed to represent and my set targets for 'confidence level' and 'margin of error' (Bryman, 1988). (A detailed discourse on sample size is provided in section 6.2.)

Over the course of three days in early June 2018, I wrote to all 10 schools on my list, introducing my enquiry and explaining the task I had in mind for their Emirati students, should they agree to take part in my research project. By then I had given up any hope that phase 2 data gathering could be completed before the end of the 2017-18 academic year. With the majority of students in the upper grades either engaged in internal or external examinations, and with the imminent arrival of the Eid holiday, insisting on my original timelines, as outlined in the Gantt chart presented in Figure 7, would have been futile. In my email messages to the

---

<sup>19</sup> *The student enrolment trend in a typical private school in Dubai follows a pyramid structure, with a rough ratio ranging from 52:48 to 45:55 between the students enrolled in the two year groups of 8 and 9 and those enrolled in the three (in some cases four) year groups of 10 and above.*

principals of the schools I sought their support in disseminating the phase 2 survey to the relevant student cohorts during the first two weeks of the academic year 2018-19, slated to commence on 03 September 2018. The initial response from all 10 principals was positive.

On 4 September 2018, I re-initiated communication with the principals of the 10 target schools. In my communication to them I included a draft letter addressed to the parents of Emirati students in grades 10 and above in which I incorporated a brief description of the study and the data collection activity planned for phase 2, and sought the parents'/guardians' implicit consent to allow their children/wards to take part in the research<sup>20</sup>. Six of the 10 principals responded immediately affirming their support, and by the end of the first week of the new academic year I was assured by all six that the parent letter had been disseminated. At the beginning of the ensuing week I sent the principals a draft message directed at the student participants, which included a hyperlink and informing them that they had a week in which to complete the 84-question 'Final Survey'. By the end of that week, the online survey had recorded 282 entries of either fully completed or partially completed surveys, as shown in Table 7 below<sup>21</sup>.

**Table 7: Breakdown by School of Number of Entries in Response to the 'Final Survey'**

No.	Name of School	Number of Entries in Response to the Full Survey
1	Al Ittihad Private School (Jumeira campus)	102
2	Al Mawakeb School (two campuses)	0

<sup>20</sup> For logistical reasons, I had agreed with the principals that parent consent for the phase 2 participants need not take the form of a signed statement. The letter addressed to parents included the following statement, printed in bold font: "Unless we hear otherwise, either directly from you or from your child, we will assume that you have consented to your child's participation". Furthermore, the title page of the online survey included the text: "No names or other data that may identify you will be captured or recorded. By agreeing to complete the survey, you are declaring that you have the explicit consent of your parents/legal guardians". Across all six schools, only one parent sent an inquiry demanding access to the survey prior to offering his consent for his daughter to take part in the exercise. His request was met.

<sup>21</sup> Note that although I did not hear from Dubai National School nor The School of Research Science, the survey recorded one entry from each school, as shown in the table in Table 8. There was one further record in which the respondent marked 'Other' when responding to the question: "What school do you attend?" When I investigated this, it turned to be an entry from a student at Al-Mizhar American Academy School, who, for some reason, had selected 'Other' and wrote the name of her school in the commentary field provided.

3	Dubai International Private School	0
4	Dubai National School (two campuses)	1
5	The International School of Choueifat	39
6	Dar Al Marefa School	26
7	Al Mizhar American Academy School	48
8	Uptown School	28
9	The School of Research Science	1
10	Jumeira Baccalaureate School	36
11	Other	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>282</b>

## 6.2 Phase 2 – Data Analysis

Before delving into analysis of the data generated through the ‘Final Survey’, it was necessary to establish the sample size that would be considered a fair representation, from the point of view of statistical analysis, of the relevant population. For this enquiry, the relevant population is that of Emirati students aged 15 or older (or equivalently who are enrolled in grades 10 or higher) attending private schools in Dubai. According to the data I had received from the KHDA’s Director of Research in June 2018, the 13 schools he had recommended that I should contact for the purpose of collecting data for phase 2 had a total population of 6,149 Emirati students across grades 8 to 12. In his communication, the Director of Research indicated that this figure amounts to about two-thirds of the total Emirati population in private schools in those grades. Assuming the two-thirds estimate to be exact leads to the conclusion that during the academic year 2017-18, the number of Emirati students in grades 8 to 12 who were in private education in Dubai was 9,224. In order to derive a figure for the population in grades 10 to 12, I made the simplistic assumption that the distribution of the population across the five

grade levels (8 to 12) was, on average, constant<sup>22</sup>. Based on this, the addressable population for the enquiry was 5,534 students, in other words, three-fifths the figure derived for the grades 8 and above population. The sample size could then be derived using the formula:

$$Sample\ Size = \frac{\frac{z^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2}}{1 + \left( \frac{z^2 \times p(1-p)}{e^2 N} \right)} \quad (\text{Bartlett, Kotrlik \& Higgins, 2001})$$

where  $z$  is the ‘*z-score*’ (which is a number that relates to the desired ‘*confidence level*’, or in other words the level of uncertainty that can be tolerated),  $p$  is the ‘*response distribution*’ (typically set at 0.5 unless there is strong evidence to suggest that the population within the sample is biased with respect to the key themes raised by the research),  $N$  is the ‘*addressable population*’ and  $e$  is the ‘*margin of error*’ (the level of error that can be tolerated). For a confidence level of 90%, the corresponding *z-score* is 1.65. Assuming a margin of error of 5.00% results in a sample size of 258.

At face value, it would seem that the 282 entries recorded through my data collection activities in phase 2 had exceeded the desired sample size of 258, according to the above calculation. But upon close examination of the individual responses to the ‘Final Survey’, it became evident that a number of these entries were grossly incomplete<sup>23</sup>. I had been alerted to this fact by one of the six principals who had mentioned that a number of his students had had multiple attempts at completing the survey (either due to technical glitches, or because they had simply run out of time) had aborted the initial attempt, and had returned to the survey afresh sometime later. There were also the two peculiar entries from Dubai National School and the School of Research Science to ponder, schools that had never acknowledged my attempts at communication in September 2018. My only explanation for their existence was that these two responses were, in fact, made by the principals of these schools (or by some other officials), who simply wanted to test out the survey. It so happened that the two entries from Dubai

---

<sup>22</sup> *Anecdotal evidence points to the fact that with higher grades the population of students diminishes, as the student distribution across grades in most private schools, more often than not, exhibits a pyramid-like structure. However, in the absence of any hard data, the most conservative position to take for the purpose of this calculation was to assume a constant population across the five highest grades.*

<sup>23</sup> *Any entry in which fewer than 50% of the questions were answered was considered to be grossly incomplete, and eliminated from the database.*



National School and the School of Research Science were grossly incomplete (fewer than half the questions were answered), and were therefore eliminated from the database of responses, along with 54 other grossly incomplete entries from the remaining six schools. The resulting 226 entries, which constituted the final set of validated responses for analysis, meant that the margin of error in my statistical sample had increased from 5.00% to 5.36%. The breakdown, by school, of the 226 responses is shown in Table 8 below. Incidentally, the average time spent answering the 84 questions in the 'Final Survey' across all 226 responses was 19 minutes and 11 seconds, which was within the range (15 to 20 minutes) that I had predicted in my communication with parents and the student participants. The shortest time recorded was 4 minutes and 48 seconds by a student from Al Ittihad Private School, and the longest 58 minutes and 45 seconds by a student from The International School of Choueifat. The average time spent per school is provided in the final column in Table 8 below.

**Table 8: Breakdown by School of Validated Responses to the 'Full Survey'**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name of School</b>	<b>Number of Validated Responses to the Full Survey</b>	<b>Average Time Spent Completing the Full Survey</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Al Ittihad Private School (Jumeira campus)</b>	97	16 minutes 34 seconds
<b>2</b>	<b>The International School of Choueifat</b>	31	20 minutes 45 seconds
<b>3</b>	<b>Dar Al Marefa School</b>	20	28 minutes 32 seconds
<b>4</b>	<b>Al Mizhar American Academy School</b>	22	10 minutes 32 seconds
<b>5</b>	<b>Uptown School</b>	25	20 minutes 18 seconds
<b>6</b>	<b>Jumeira Baccalaureate School</b>	31	22 minutes 58 seconds
	<b>TOTAL/OVERALL</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>19 minutes 11 seconds</b>

Having filtered out any invalid entries, my next task was to identify some defining characteristics that are relevant to the themes raised by the enquiry which these six schools either had in common or in contrast. These were mainly centred around curriculum and the demographics of the student and staff bodies. The purpose behind this exercise was to ascertain possible correlations that may emerge during the process of extracting the phase 2

findings, between these characteristics and the types of responses that students from the six schools had, either in relation to their attitudes towards the two languages (Arabic and English), or alternatively the views they expressed through their responses to questions related to bilingual education, its relevance to Dubai, the type of bilingual programme that may succeed and the means available to bring the model to reality. Of course such analysis runs the risk of increased uncertainty as the sample size begins to diminish. Therefore, great care had to be exercised when drawing any such conclusions, as shall be made evident in the section 6.3. Table 9 lists some of the defining characteristics for the six participating schools.

**Table 9: Key Characteristics of the Participating Schools (re. Curriculum & Demographics)**

No.	Name of School	Type	Curriculum	Largest nationality group of students	Largest nationality group of teachers
1	Al Ittihad Private School (Jumeira campus)	English-medium	US	Emirati	Lebanese
2	The International School of Choueifat	English-medium	SABIS	Arab	Arab
3	Dar Al Marefa School	English-medium	IB	Emirati	British/Irish
4	Al Mizhar American Academy School	English-medium	US	Emirati	American (US)
5	Uptown School	English-medium	IB	Emirati	British
6	Jumeira Baccalaureate School	English-medium	IB	Emirati	British

(KHDA, 2017)

The information contained in Table 9 offers the potential of examining the student responses through one of three lenses: (1) the *aggregate* lens (in which all 226 entries are considered at once), (2) a *curriculum* lens, pitting IB versus US/SABIS (here the 226 entries are split into 87 and 139, respectively) or, (3) a *teacher demographic* lens, pitting Arab/Lebanese against Western (whereby the 226 entries are split into 128 and 98, respectively). Of course, section 1 of the Full Survey offers alternative potential lenses that may prove useful in analysing the data, such as age, gender, mother or father's country of birth, and the number of years spent at current school. In reality, however, of all these factors, only *gender* had potential to reveal

certain correlations, as the other factors proved to be either largely homogeneous (for example over 90% of respondents reported that they had been studying at their current schools for three consecutive years or longer; over 89% stated that their fathers were UAE born citizens, and over 78% stated that their mothers were UAE born citizens) or, as in the case of age, inconsequential. For more details on the correlations emerging from the data in relation to gender, curriculum and teacher demographics please refer to section 6.3 ('Phase 2 – Findings').

With the exception of questions 16 to 19 in section 2 of the 'Final Survey', where the curriculum and teacher demographic lenses may come into play (in these four questions respondents were asked what language they spoke to their friends in the classroom, on the playground, and outside of school and also in which language they spoke to their teachers), all the remaining questions in this section were examined using the aggregate and gender viewpoints. In sections 3 and 4, which required the participants to express their attitudes towards language and to react to singular tension statements concerning bilingual education and the bilingual model that may be relevant to Dubai, analysis of the data considered all four lenses (aggregate, curriculum, staff demographic and gender) in search of possible correlations. Similar analysis was applied to the 'tension couplets' in section 5 of the 'Final Survey', although one additional analytical tool was applied in order to reveal the relative strength of the tension between the two statements in each couplet across the various lenses mentioned earlier (please refer to section 6.3 for further details).

### *6.3 Phase 2 – Findings*

This section presents the findings emerging from statistical analysis of the phase 2 data, and is organized around the five sections that make up the 'Final Survey':

- (1) Background Data
- (2) Language Background Scale
- (3) Attitudes Towards Language
- (4) 'Tension Singulars'
- (5) 'Tension Couplets'

As explained in the preceding section, in presenting these findings, where appropriate, certain filters were applied to the data in search of potential correlations. These filters include the respondent's *gender*, the *curriculum* taught at his/her current school, and the *teacher demographics* at his/her current school.

#### 6.3.1 Findings from Section 1 of the 'Final Survey' – Biographical Data

Of the 226 respondents to the 'Full Survey', 96% were enrolled in grades 10 to 12, 86% were between the age of 15 and 18 years, and the female to male split was 54:46. 78% of respondents reported the UAE as being their mothers' country of birth, whereas another 15% stated that their mothers were born in another Arab country. As for the country of birth of fathers, 89% of respondents reported it to be the UAE, and another 8% selected the 'Other Arab country' option. Finally, 92% of respondents declared that they had been studying at their current school for three consecutive years or more. These findings contained no surprises as they largely reflected the sampling criteria employed by the investigation and shared with the school officials who had assisted in recruiting student volunteers, which were: Emirati students aged 15 or above and who have been at the school for three years or longer (see 'Methodology' chapter). The more or less even split between male and female participants was a fortuitous coincidence.

#### 6.3.2 Findings from Section 2 of the 'Final Survey' – Language Background Scale

87% of respondents stated that they spoke to their **fathers** 'Almost always in Arabic' (72%) or 'In Arabic more often than English' (15%). Equivalently, 85% of respondents stated that they spoke to their **mothers** 'Almost always in Arabic' (72%) or 'In Arabic more often than English' (13%). A similar pattern prevailed when it came to communication with other elders within their families, with 91% of respondents reporting that they spoke to their **grandparents** 'Almost always in Arabic' (89%) or 'In Arabic more often than English' (2%), and 90% declaring that they spoke to their **aunts and uncles** 'Almost always in Arabic' (75%) or 'In Arabic more often than English' (15%). When it came to communication with siblings and cousins, the distribution of responses was spread more evenly across the spectrum that spans 'Almost always in Arabic' at one end to 'Almost always in English' at the other end, but still weighing more towards the Arabic end, as shown in Table 10 below.

**Table 10: Responses to: “In Which Language Do You Speak to Your Siblings/Cousins?”**

Answer Choices	In Which Language Do You Speak to Your Siblings?	In Which Language Do You Speak to Your Cousins?
Almost always in Arabic	47%	46%
In Arabic more often than English	14%	18%
In Arabic and English about equally	21%	20%
In English more often than Arabic	11%	11%
Almost always in English	6%	4%
Not applicable	1%	1%

When it came to the questions about speaking with household help, communicating through social media, surfing the internet, watching television, movies or videos, reading newspapers, magazines or comics, reading books and shopping, the tables turned in favour of English over Arabic, as presented in Table 11 below.

**Table 11: Responses to Questions Related to Household Help, Social Media, Surfing the Internet, Watching TV, Reading Newspapers, Reading Books and Shopping**

Question	‘Almost Always in English’ responses (%)	‘In English more often than Arabic’ responses (%)	TOTAL (% favouring English)
In which language do you speak to your maids/household help?	32%	16%	<b>58%</b>
Which language do you use when communicating through social media?	30%	32%	<b>62%</b>
Which language do you use when surfing the internet?	53%	27%	<b>80%</b>
Which language do you use when watching TV, movies or videos?	64%	19%	<b>83%</b>
Which language do you use when reading newspapers, magazines or comics?	42%	19%	<b>61%</b>
Which language do you use when reading books?	45%	17%	<b>62%</b>
Which language do you use when shopping?	42%	23%	<b>65%</b>

With regards to experiences such as speaking on the phone, listening to the radio or music, playing sports, eating out or dreaming during sleep, the responses were, more or less, evenly distributed between those favouring Arabic and those favouring English. Table 12 lists these findings.

**Table 12: Responses to Questions Related to Speaking on the Phone, Listening to the Radio or Music, Playing Sports, Eating Out or Dreaming During Sleep**

Question	% favouring Arabic	% favouring English	% favouring neither or selecting 'Not Applicable'
Which language do you use when speaking on the phone?	38%	22%	40%
Which language do you use when listening to radio or music?	27%	41%	32%
Which language do you use when playing sports?	28%	34%	38%
Which language do you use when eating out?	29%	38%	33%
Which language do you use when you dream in your sleep?	31%	18%	51%

As for the four remaining questions (16 to 19), I wanted to examine the influence that curriculum, gender and the demographics of the teaching body in the respondents' respective schools had on their responses. As mentioned in section 6.2, the curriculum perspective pitted the three IB schools against the three schools that offered either the US or the SABIS curriculum, whereas the teacher demographics perspective pitted the two schools with a predominantly Arab/Lebanese teaching body against the four schools with a largely Western expatriate teaching faculty. The gender lens, of course, cut through all six participating schools. Table 13 summarizes the findings for the three perspectives mentioned above, as well as the aggregate view, for all four questions. To facilitate the process of comparison across the four perspectives, I calculated a mean score for each question (which is simply the weighted average score) by first assigning the value '+2' to the response 'Almost always in Arabic', '+1' to 'In Arabic more often than English', '0' to 'In Arabic and English about equally', '-1' to 'In English more often than Arabic', and '-2' to the response 'Almost always in English'. The table shows the mean score for each question along with the associated standard deviation (shown in

parenthesis adjacent to each mean score), calculated for the aggregate, gender, curriculum and teacher demographic perspectives.

**Table 13: Statistical Analysis of Responses to Questions 16-19 Across the Four Perspectives**

Question	Score/(SD) - Aggregate Perspective	Score/(SD) - Gender Perspective	Score/(SD) - Curriculum Perspective	Score/(SD) - Teach Demogr. Perspective
16: In which language do you speak to your school friends in the classroom?	+0.27 (0.28)	F: +0.08 (0.28) M: +0.50 (0.28)	IB: +0.43 (0.24) US: +0.20 (0.30)	Arab: +0.30 (0.31) Wes: +0.26 (0.24)
17: In which language do you speak to your school friends on the playground?	+0.44 (0.33)	F: +0.32 (0.33) M: +0.58 (0.33)	IB: +0.66 (0.29) US: +0.35 (0.34)	Arab: +0.41 (0.34) Wes: +0.51 (0.30)
18: In which language do you speak to your school friends outside school?	+0.53 (0.33)	F: +0.33 (0.28) M: +0.79 (0.39)	IB: +0.88 (0.34) US: +0.37 (0.32)	Arab: +0.47 (0.33) Wes: +0.65 (0.31)
Q19: In which language do you speak to your teachers?	-0.57 (0.21)	F: -0.72 (0.24) M: -0.39 (0.19)	IB: -0.83 (0.23) US: -0.43 (0.20)	Arab: -0.31 (0.17) Wes: -0.91 (0.28)

From the *aggregate perspective* the scores shown in the above table lead to the conclusion that amongst the sample of 226 respondents, there is no clear preference between the use of Arabic and English when it comes to communication with friends. One may argue that the scores are skewed slightly in favour of a penchant for Arabic, but not convincingly so, given the fairly broad spectrum of responses (signified by the relatively high standard deviation scores), and the built-in margins of error in the sample itself (see previous chapter for details). A similar deduction can be made when looking at the scores for questions 16 to 18 from the remaining three perspectives, with the possible notable exception of the scores calculated using the *curriculum perspective* in relation to question 18. Here, the score from students attending the three IB schools (JBS, AAM and Uptown School) was +0.88; in other words, very close to the response 'In Arabic more often than in English'. The same could not be said of the students attending the US and SABIS curriculum schools, whose mean score in response to the same question was +0.37. There is no discernable reason why this discrepancy should exist. Bearing in mind that the spread between the two scores is only 0.51 points (or half a step), which is comparable in value to the recorded standard deviation scores for the two perspectives (IB and US/SABIS) of 0.34 and 0.32 respectively, the phenomenon may well prove to be circumstantial.

A different pattern emerges from an examination of the scores for question 19, with certain correlations featuring quite prominently between participants' responses and the various perspectives. According to Table 13, two common threads characterize the responses to question 19. The first characteristic is a preference for the use of English over Arabic across all four perspectives, in particular among female respondents (whose mean score was -0.72), students attending the three IB schools (with a mean score of -0.83) and, not surprisingly, respondents attending the four schools where the teaching body was predominantly composed of Western teachers (where the mean score was -0.91). The second characteristic is a low standard deviation score, in comparison to the responses for the remaining three questions, indicating that this tendency towards the use of English when communicating with their teachers was a general pattern shared among the majority of the respondents.

Overall, the results suggest a strong correlation with the concept outlined in the 'Literature Review' chapter of language taking on a role beyond that of a mere *semiotic* or *symbolic* tool, as a statement of personal identity (Garcia, 2009). The respondents to this part of the survey are stating clearly that their command of two languages is not simply an advantage that they use when faced with situations of having to communicate with another person who only has access to one language (the elderly grandparent in the case of Arabic for example), or one who only has a single language in common with them (the case of the household maid, for instance). To these students, bilingualism opens up opportunities of access to a desired content, say on social media or television. However, more importantly, and against the deluge of English all around them, when these young Emiratis living in Dubai assert their choice of listening to or using formal Arabic (whether that be in a formal classroom setting, at the theatre, or at a religious event), or alternatively the Emirati dialect (when interacting with family members or friends), they are in effect asserting the 'Arab/Emirati' facet of their identity.

### 6.3.3 Findings from Section 3 of the 'Final Survey' – Attitudes Towards Language

In section 3 of the 'Full Survey', respondents were presented with eight statements, numbered from 32 to 38, and were asked to state the extent to which they agreed with each of them. Analogous to the treatment afforded to questions 16 to 19, responses to the eight statements in this section of the survey were studied through the four perspectives: *aggregate*, *gender*,



*curriculum and teacher demographics*. Furthermore, and along similar lines to those described in the previous subsection, a mean and a standard deviation score were derived for each question by first assigning the value '+2' to the response 'Strongly Agree', '+1' to 'Somewhat Agree', '0' to 'Do Not Know', '-1' to 'Somewhat Disagree', and '-2' to the response 'Strongly Disagree'. The results are shown in Table 14 below.

**Table 14: Statistical Analysis of Responses to Statements 31-38 Across the Four Perspectives**

Statement	Score/(SD) - Aggregate Perspective	Score/(SD) - Gender Perspective	Score/(SD) - Curriculum Perspective	Score/(SD) - Teach Demogr. Perspective
31: "I believe that most Emiratis view English as the language of business, modernity and internationalism, and give it <i>superior</i> status to Arabic."	+0.59 (0.26)	F: +0.51 (0.25) M: +0.68 (0.28)	IB: +0.70 (0.28) US: +0.53 (0.25)	Arab: +0.65 (0.26) Wes: +0.51 (0.27)
32: "Arabic is as vital as English for my continued education and career aspirations."	+1.08 (0.39)	F: +1.07 (0.39) M: +1.08 (0.39)	IB: +1.17 (0.42) US: +1.02 (0.37)	Arab: +1.09 (0.38) Wes: +1.04 (0.40)
33: "I am equally comfortable expressing myself in Arabic as I am in English."	+0.85 (0.38)	F: +0.67 (0.36) M: +1.06 (0.41)	IB: +1.03 (0.46) US: +0.77 (0.35)	Arab: +0.87 (0.36) Wes: +0.85 (0.43)
34: "At my current school, Arabic is given equal weighting and importance as English."	-0.02 (0.32)	F: +0.02 (0.34) M: -0.06 (0.30)	IB: -0.34 (0.29) US: +0.15 (0.35)	Arab: +0.31 (0.35) Wes: -0.44 (0.30)
35: "I think schools have an important role to play in redressing the existing imbalance between Arabic and English."	+1.04 (0.34)	F: +1.04 (0.34) M: +1.05 (0.34)	IB: +1.28 (0.39) US: +0.93 (0.32)	Arab: +1.00 (0.33) Wes: +1.10 (0.35)
36: "As an Emirati, I am concerned over the predominance of English over Arabic and worry that one day either my own generation or future generations might lose touch with Arabic altogether."	+0.84 (0.37)	F: +0.69 (0.34) M: +1.02 (0.42)	IB: +1.12 (0.46) US: +0.69 (0.33)	Arab: +0.68 (0.33) Wes: +1.04 (0.43)
37: "With so many nationalities represented in Dubai, it makes sense that English has become the common language we use to communicate with each other."	+1.21 (0.40)	F: +1.15 (0.40) M: +1.29 (0.39)	IB: +1.20 (0.38) US: +1.22 (0.41)	Arab: +1.27 (0.41) Wes: +1.14 (0.38)

38: "I believe that most Emiratis view Arabic as the language of religion, tradition and localism, and give it <i>inferior</i> status to English."	+0.75 (0.31)	F: +0.66 (0.30) M: +0.86 (0.33)	IB: +0.82 (0.32) US: +0.72 (0.31)	Arab: +0.74 (0.32) Wes: +0.76 (0.31)
--	--------------	------------------------------------	--------------------------------------	---

Considering the *aggregate perspective* to begin with, an examination of the above table leads to the rather striking realization that, with the possible exception of statement 34, none of the statements met with overwhelming, or even mild, disapproval. Statement 37, with a mean score of +1.21, had the highest approval rate, followed by statements 32 and 35, with respective mean scores of +1.08 and +1.04. The standard deviations for these three statements were similar, ranging from 0.34 to 0.40. Next in line are statements 33 and 36 with mean scores of +0.85 and +0.84, respectively. Statement 34 stands delicately poised between the 226 respondents, with 54 students 'agreeing strongly' with it contrasted with 48 who 'strongly disagreed' with it; 46 students who 'somewhat agreed' with it against 62 who 'somewhat disagreed' with it; and 16 who could not decide one way or the other. Applying the three other perspectives to the same data reveals no discernable correlation across gender, curriculum or teacher demographics, with the possible exception of statement 34 when viewed through the curriculum lens. Students attending the three IB schools (JBS, Dar Al Marefa and Uptown School) disagreed with the statement to the tune of 47 who chose 'Somewhat Disagree' (32 students) or 'Strongly Disagree' (15 students) against 24 who were split equally between 'Strongly Agree' and 'Somewhat Agree'. The students attending the US curriculum schools (Al Ittihad Private School, AAM and The International School of Choueifat) reacted differently, as they fell more in line with the aggregate view of being almost equally balanced<sup>24</sup>.

We are left with the final pair of statements which can be considered as twins or, at least, complementary: statements 31 and 38. Across all four perspectives, both statements achieved a positive mean score, with the latter statement scoring slightly higher than the former. Responses to the two statements had similar standard deviations. An examination conducted through the *aggregate perspective* reveals that for statement 31, a total of 146 students either 'Strongly Agreed' (48) or 'Somewhat Agreed' (98) with it, as opposed to 40 respondents who either 'Strongly Disagreed' (11) or 'Somewhat Disagreed' with it (29); 30 students selected the

---

<sup>24</sup> The US/SABIS cohort responded to this statement as such: 42 students strongly agreed with the statement in contrast to 33 who strongly disagreed with it; 34 students somewhat agreed whereas 29 somewhat disagreed with it; and 11 respondents could not decide.

‘Do Not Know’ option. As for statement 38, 151 respondents either ‘Strongly Agreed’ (77) or ‘Somewhat Agreed’ (74) with it, in contrast to 45 students who either ‘Strongly Disagreed’ (13) or ‘Somewhat Disagreed’ with it (32); and once again, 30 students could not decide. Other perspectives lead to similar statistical patterns. These findings demonstrate that the majority of participants surveyed were in favour of these two statements, leading to the conclusion of the existence of a hierarchy between the two languages from the perspective of the 226 respondents. The ‘Discussion’ chapter sheds more light on this inference.

#### 6.3.4 Findings from Section 4 of the ‘Final Survey’ – The Bilingual Model (Singular Statements)

Section 4 of the ‘Final Survey’ presented the respondents with 18 statements, numbering from 39 to 56, which were derived from coding the student essays during phase 1 of the enquiry (see chapter 5 for more details). This was the first time in the survey that phase 2 participants were exposed to data that were generated directly from the work of other students. Analysis of their responses followed similar lines to those used for statements 31 to 38, as detailed in the preceding subsection, whereby mean and standard deviation scores were derived for each of the 18 statements across the aforementioned four perspectives. The findings are tabulated in Appendix 19.

Examining the table in Appendix 19 through the *aggregate perspective* reveals moderate to strong agreement (based on a mean score of +0.75 and above) with the following statements: 43, 44, 46, 49, 50, 51, 55 and 56. Statements 39, 40, 41, 47, 48, 52, 53 and 54 had moderate to weak approval (with mean scores ranging between +0.33 to +0.72), whereas statement 42 (“The bilingual model should be limited to the primary and middle years, and should be discontinued in secondary school”) was the only one with respect to which a slight majority of the respondents were in disagreement. The *gender*, *curriculum* and *teacher demographics perspectives* generated no further insights, as the two sides in each case largely mimicked one another and were in overall agreement with the aggregate view.

In order to make better sense of these findings I have summarized them below in relation to the five organizing themes that had emerged from the thematic analysis of the phase 1 essays (please refer to chapter 5 for further details). As it so happens, the first three themes, dealing with: (1) the relative status afforded to Arabic and English, (2) the bilingual model’s place within Dubai’s private education system, and (3) the benefits of bilingual education, were not

represented amongst the 18 statements in this section of the 'Final Survey'. Consequently, the findings are summarized under the remaining three themes: (4) obstacles standing in the way of the establishment of an Arabic-English bilingual model, (5) what a successful Arabic-English bilingual model might look like, and (6) issues with the way that Arabic is currently taught in private schools.

- **Theme 4: obstacles standing in the way of the establishment of an Arabic-English bilingual model** – The findings suggest that a moderate majority of the respondents believed that such a model would present certain operational challenges, which include difficulties in scheduling time to study and learn in two languages simultaneously, complications in terms of finding suitably qualified teachers, training and retraining them, and the high cost associated with operating such a model. A moderate to large majority of the respondents also believed that support from the government and other stakeholders was required for the model to take root.
- **Theme 5: what a successful Arabic-English bilingual model might look like** – Theme five had the largest footprint amongst the statements in section 4 of the 'Final Survey', with half the statements belonging to it. The findings reveal that a fair majority of the respondents believed that the prerequisites for the model's success include: a clear articulation within schools' mission statements of the goal of apportioning equal status to Arabic and English, a commitment to the use of Arabic beyond the confines of the classroom, an assurance that the model would be made relevant to all nationalities and flexibility/multiplicity in form as a 'one-size-fits-all' may not work for Dubai. Moreover, there was consensus among the respondents that the model should be built on a team-teaching platform, requiring the employment of an equal number of Arabic and English native speaking teachers, or otherwise that all teaching staff members be bilingual. The question of whether the model should extend to include the primary and secondary years of schooling was left unresolved. On the one hand, a majority agreed with the statement that younger students were more capable of processing and absorbing multiple languages compared to older ones; on the other hand, a moderate majority felt that limiting the model to the primary and middle years would be a mistake.

- **Theme 6: issues with the way that Arabic is currently taught in private schools** – A moderate to large majority of respondents believed that private schools offered fewer opportunities for students to apply the language in comparison with public schools which fared better in this regard, and that schools should consider offering Emirati Studies courses, conducted by Emirati teachers, to enrich students' Emirati dialect. A moderate to weak majority believed that the new generation of Emiratis struggles with finding common ground with the Arabic spoken by their elders, and that the policies applied in schools of teaching formal (or classical) Arabic exclusively dismiss the rich culture and pride behind the Emirati dialect.

The significance of these findings to the main research question and its eight subsidiaries is examined closely in the 'Discussion' chapter.

#### 6.3.5 Findings from Section 5 of the 'Final Survey' – The Bilingual Model (Couplets)

The fifth and final section of the 'Final Survey' posed to the respondents 14 pairs of statements, numbering from 57 to 84. As explained in chapter 5, the statements were extracted from the 'loose networks' derived from coding the phase 1 essays, and were paired together based on observations of dissonance. Along lines identical to those outlined in the previous two subsections, the statements within each couplet were given a mean and a standard deviation score. The table in Appendix 20 presents the findings.

With the inherent tension between the statements within each couplet being a focal point, the couplets were categorized according to 'level of tension' into three classifications:

- *High Tension* – corresponding to instances where the *absolute value*<sup>25</sup> mean score for each statement within a pair was 0.75 or higher and the difference between them was 0.50 or lower.
- *Moderate Tension* – corresponding to three possible instances being: (1) cases in which the *absolute value* mean score for each statement within a pair was 0.75 or higher but where the difference between them was higher than 0.50, (2) cases in which the

---

<sup>25</sup> *Absolute value is a mathematical concept defined as the magnitude of a number irrespective of whether it is positive or negative, and is denoted by the symbol  $|x|$ . For example, if  $x = +0.25$ , then  $|x| = +0.25$ ; likewise, if  $x = -0.25$ , the  $|x| = +0.25$ .*

*absolute value* mean score for one and only one of the statements within a pair was 0.75 or higher and the difference between them was 0.50 or lower or, (3) cases in which the *absolute value* mean score for each statement within a pair was between zero and 0.75, and the difference between them was 0.50 or lower.

- *Weak/Non-Existent Tension* – corresponding to all remaining cases.

Table 15 presents the results of this classification using the *aggregate perspective*. The remaining three perspectives exhibited a similar pattern, indicating that no discernable correlation existed between these three variables and the degree to which respondents rated the ‘tension couplets’.

**Table 15: Classification of ‘Tension Couplets’ into ‘High’, ‘Moderate’ or ‘Weak’**

‘High Tension’ Couplets	‘Moderate Tension’ Couplets	‘Weak/Non-Existent Tension’ Couplets
(61 ; 62)	(65 ; 66)	(57 ; 58)
(75 ; 76)	(67 ; 68)	(59 ; 60)
(77 ; 78)	(83 ; 84)	(63 ; 64)
		(69 ; 70)
		(71 ; 72)
		(73 ; 74)
		(79 ; 80)
		(81 ; 82)

Instances of ‘High Tension’ couplets, of which there were three, reveal some of the underlying dilemmas facing Emirati students and their parents referred to in the ‘Context’ chapter. In the case of couplet (61 ; 62), the tension arises from the realization that while there may be an expectation of Emiratis in the workforce to possess command of their native language, the reality is that in Dubai’s business environment, English takes precedence. The high tension in couplet (75 ; 76) relates to the stated view of the majority of the respondents that a bilingual

model is best suited to close the gap between language learners and native speakers, while at the same time acknowledging the fact that even within bilingual schools, there tends to be a dominant language and a subordinate one. Finally, the high tension in couplet (77 ; 78) juxtaposes the majority view that bilingual education produces higher long-term academic outcomes with one that acknowledges its potential adverse effects on the learner.

The three occurrences of 'Moderate Tension' couplets tell an altogether different side of the story. Here the respondents have a slight bias towards one point of view, which in the case of couplet (65 ; 66) favours the opinion that English is the most practical medium for schools to adopt, given the large number of international students in the private sector, and in the case of couplet (83 ; 84) favours the outlook of formal/classical Arabic enjoying a wider role in the daily lives of young Emiratis. What makes these two couplets 'Moderate' is the fact that a fair number of the respondents were also willing to acknowledge the opposing view. As for couplet (67 ; 68), the mean scores were very close, and, in fact, had statement 68 scored higher than 0.65, the couplet would have been categorized within the 'High Tension' bracket. The two statements in this couplet state the following opposing views: the majority of Dubai's private schools are bilingual; not many schools in the UAE follow a bilingual educational model.

Finally, there were the 'Weak/Non-Existent Tension' couplets, which accounted for just over half the total number of 'tension couplets'. Here, we are faced with an even stronger bias towards one point of view versus the other across the various arguments put forth by each couplet. The summary below presents these findings, organized in relation to the six themes emerging from the phase 1 essay analysis (please see section 5.2 for further details). In contrast to the singular statements which all fell under the fourth, fifth and sixth themes, as outlined in the preceding subsection, the 'Weak/Non-Existent Tension' findings all belonged to the first three themes identified during the analysis of the student essays.

- **Theme 1: the relative status afforded to Arabic and English** – A fair majority of the respondents were of the opinion that private schools did not treat Arabic and English on an equal footing. This was particularly true among male respondents, students attending the three IB schools and those enrolled within the four schools in which the dominant teacher demographic was that of Western expatriates. An even higher

representative majority agreed with the statement that the forces of globalization have resulted in English becoming the predominant language in use in Dubai.

- **Theme 2: the bilingual model's place within Dubai's private education system** – A large majority of respondents across all four perspectives believed that it is imperative for Emiratis to achieve balance between the two languages and not allow one to override the other. A moderate majority believed that there was high demand in the market for an Arabic-English bilingual model; that the model, should it come to fruition, would play an important role in supporting learning; and, that parents selecting such a model over an English-medium school for their children would not be taking any significant risks. Finally, a fair majority (particularly among female and IB school respondents) disagreed with the assertion that the bilingual model would not be very successful in Dubai, nor would it be very effective.
- **Theme 3: the benefits of bilingual education** – Amongst all 14 pairs of statements which constituted section 5 of the 'Final Survey', statement 73 ("Being bilingual makes you smarter, gives you cross-cultural access, and future employment advantages") earned the highest positive mean score across all four perspectives (aggregate, gender, curriculum and teacher demographics). An almost equal majority also agreed with the statement that bilingual education allows parents to provide their children with the opportunity to reach their goals and to excel in their future and in their careers.

\* \* \*

Data collection for phase 2 of the enquiry spanned a 6-month period between March 2018 and September 2018, and focused on gathering responses from Emirati students to the online 'Final Survey'. The number of participants who took part in phase 2 was 226 students, spread across six schools. Four separate perspectives were identified as having the potential to reveal possible correlations in the numerical data collected during this phase, namely: (1) an *aggregate perspective* (in which all 226 entries are considered collectively); (2) a *curriculum perspective*, pitting IB versus US/SABIS; (3) a *teacher demographic perspective* pitting schools with a predominantly Arab/Lebanese teaching body against those with a predominantly Western teaching body; and (4) a *gender perspective*. Finally, the six themes which emerged



from the thematic analysis of the qualitative data collected in phase 1, in the form of student essays, proved a useful tool in organizing the findings from phase 2, as summarized below.

- **Theme 1: the relative status afforded to Arabic and English** – The majority of respondents believed that private schools emphasized English over Arabic, and that because of globalization English has become the predominant language in Dubai.
- **Theme 2: the bilingual model's place within Dubai's private education system** – Most respondents believed in the importance of maintaining a balance between the two languages, and supported the introduction of an Arabic-English bilingual model.
- **Theme 3: the benefits of bilingual education** – A large majority of the respondents believed that bilingual education would benefit their cognitive and academic development, and would improve their future employment prospects.
- **Theme 4: obstacles standing in the way of the establishment of an Arabic-English bilingual model** – The overall sentiment was that the bilingual model suffered from operational challenges such as high costs, the recruitment of appropriately trained teachers, and that government support was needed for the model to be realized.
- **Theme 5: what a successful Arabic-English bilingual model might look like** – A majority of the respondents believed that the prerequisites for the model's success include: a clear articulation of bilingualism as a stated goal, the apportioning of equal status to Arabic and English, and a commitment to the use of Arabic beyond the confines of the classroom. The 'one-size-fits-all' approach may not work, suggesting multiple types.
- **Theme 6: issues with the way that Arabic is currently taught in private schools** – A small majority of respondents believed that the policies applied in schools of teaching formal (or classical) Arabic exclusively dismiss the rich culture and pride behind the Emirati dialect, resulting in a communication gap between the younger generation of Emiratis and the elder members in their families and wider communities.

## CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

This enquiry was built on the premise that a linguistic dualism exists within Dubai's Emirati population, with Arabic and English in constant contention for hegemony (Findlow, 2006; Clarke, 2007), and that while a majority of Emirati parents choose to enrol their children in English-medium schools, believing them to offer a 'higher standard of education' (see 'Context' chapter for further details), there is considerable concern among many of them over the cost they have had to pay in terms of mother-tongue attrition (Kenaid, 2011). Section 7.1 below examines the extent to which evidence from the findings of this investigation either supports or refutes these assertions, and further explores the added complication that Arabic diglossia injects into Dubai's linguistic composition (Gallagher, 2011), both within and outside the confines of its education system. By doing so, section 7.1 addresses the first three subsidiary questions raised by the enquiry, provided in the 'Introduction' chapter. Sections 7.2 and 7.3 turn their attention towards finding answers, based on the gathered evidence, to the remaining five subsidiary questions. Collectively the answers to these questions help address the study's main research question: *"What type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model could be developed and implemented in Dubai's private K-12 sector?"*

### *7.1 Linguistic Dualism and School Choice Dilemma*

The pertinent questions under scrutiny in this instance, derived from the list of eight subsidiary questions introduced in chapter 1, are:

- *What are the prevailing attitudes towards Arabic and English among Emirati students in private education?*
- *How do Emirati students perceive the status afforded to Arabic and English within Dubai's private education sector?*
- *What role does Arabic diglossia play in the linguistic contestation and accommodation of an Emirati student's existence?*

#### 7.1.1 Attitudes Towards Arabic and English Among Emirati Students

Although the phenomenon of linguistic dualism is often portrayed through the lens of two languages being in conflict, it is important not to lose sight of the aspect of dualism in which

the languages in question stand side by side, with each having its own sphere of influence (Fishman, 1972a). Section 2 of the 'Final Survey' attempted to explore this facet of the Arabic-English dualism in existence in Dubai, through gaining an understanding of the circumstances and situations in which young Emiratis tend to favour the use of one language over the other. The findings, presented in detail in subsection 6.3.2, had very few surprises to offer. The vast majority of respondents stated that they spoke to their family elders (parents, grandparents, uncles and aunts) mostly in Arabic; a slightly smaller majority, but still a majority, preferred Arabic to English when communicating with their siblings and cousins; and there was no clear bias towards either language when it came to communication with friends. English seemed to be the preferred language for a fair majority of the respondents (60% to 65%) when it came to activities such as communicating through social media and reading (books, newspapers, magazines, etc.), whereas a much stronger majority (80% to 83%) declared their preference for English when surfing the internet and watching films, television or videos. While the slight partiality for English over Arabic in the use of social media can be explained by virtue of the rich demographic mix of people with whom these young Emirati students interact, the inclination towards English over Arabic in the remaining instances of media consumption is less readily explained. One influencing factor is, perhaps, the relative scarcity of content in Arabic that appeals to this age group, compared to English content, which is pervasive, as shall be discussed shortly within the context of what Phillipson (1992) terms as *linguistic imperialism*.

Phillipson views the English language as one of the principal means through which the so-called industrialized nations are able to "Americanize" or "Westernize" other parts of the world (1992; 59). He defines *linguistic imperialism* as the process whereby "the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequities between English and other languages" (1992; 47). In the context of Dubai, linguistic imperialism manifests itself within the *linguistic dualism* paradigm discussed in detail in the 'Introduction' chapter (Findlow, 2006; Clarke, 2007). These views were presented to the respondents in section 3 of the 'Final Survey', in statements 31 and 38 respectively. As mentioned in chapter 6 (subsection 6.3.3), both statements elicited a favourable response from the 226 respondents with 64% stating that they either 'Strongly Agreed' or 'Somewhat Agreed' with statement 31 and 66% declaring that they either 'Strongly Agreed' or 'Somewhat Agreed' with the statement 38. Perhaps more remarkably, only 5% of the respondents expressed 'Strong Disagreement' with either statement, leading to the conclusion that hierarchical order

between the two languages is well and truly established within the perceptions of these young Emiratis.

The prospect of home language *attrition* appears in statement 36 within section 3 of the 'Final Survey' (the statement can be found in Appendix 2). A little over 71% of the respondents either 'Strongly Agreed' (42%) or 'Somewhat Agreed' (29%) with this statement, and about 21% disagreed with it. Similar responses were observed concerning the theme of *language shift*, as expressed in statement 60 in section 4 (the statement is provided in Appendix 3), with close to 76% of respondents in agreement with it, compared to just over 11% who opposed it. The third and final instance supporting the pretext that Emiratis face a dilemma in selecting schools for their children appears in the 'High Tension' couplet (61 ; 62), as mentioned in the chapter 6 (subsection 6.2.5). The inner conflict experienced by Emiratis is the result of the clash between the expectation that Emiratis in the workforce should be proficient in Arabic, and the reality that in Dubai's world of business and commerce English enjoys primacy.

#### 7.1.2 The Status of Arabic and English Within Dubai's Private Education Sector

The question of whether Dubai's private schools offer equal status to Arabic and English, or simply mirror the linguistic hierarchy in existence within the city-state as a whole, is addressed in three statements in the 'Final Survey': 34, 57, and 58 (the three statements can be found in Appendices 2 and 3). Not surprisingly, given the close similarity between them<sup>26</sup>, responses to statements 34 and 57 were almost identical: 44% in favour versus 49% against, with 7% undecided, in the case of statement 34, compared to 45% in favour versus 48% against with 7% undecided in the case of statement 57. Statement 58 had a clear majority (65%) of respondents in agreement with it (33% 'Strongly Agreed', 32% 'Somewhat Agreed'), while only 25% disagreed with it (13% 'Strongly Disagreed', 12% 'Somewhat Disagreed').

There were very few instances in which the responses to the 'Final Survey' surprised me; the cases of statements 34 and 57 were two of them. Reconciling these findings with the established fact of the number of periods per week allotted to Arabic language subjects which in English-medium schools does not exceed 25% of the total (see 'Context' chapter for further

---

<sup>26</sup> As a reminder, statement 34 occurs within section 3 of the Final Survey, among a list of eight statements that I had devised by way of probing the respondents' attitudes towards language. Statement 57 is part of the 'tension couplet' (57 ; 58) from section 5 of the Final Survey, and was extracted from the coding exercise of the phase 1 student essays.

details), and against the response to statement 58 is, to say the least, problematic. Applying the three other perspectives of gender, curriculum and teacher demographics yielded similar results, as mentioned in chapter 6. One potential explanation derives from possible ambiguity in the language used in those two statements, as the words “weighting” and “importance” in statement 34 and the phrase “used equally” in statement 57 can be interpreted in different ways. A respondent may judge his/her school as promoting Arabic in equal measure to English through attitudes towards the two languages, or through initiatives aimed at championing Arabic that may lie outside the confines of the classroom. Whatever justification that may exist to explain these findings, the only viable conclusion that can be drawn from the cumulative responses to statements 34, 57 and 58 is that this is an area of genuine conflict, and that in the minds of the Emirati students who took part in this study, the question of whether English is given precedence over Arabic in English-medium private schools is not quite resolved.

#### 7.1.3 Arabic Diglossia/Transglossia

Arabic diglossia was introduced into the narrative of the enquiry largely through the essay composed by participant A-8 (please refer to Appendix 14 for further details). In her essay, participant A-8 portrays formal or classical Arabic as an act of linguistic brutality imposed by the education authorities in the country. The first victims of this brutal act are Emirati students who have to face endless and mindless classes in Arabic grammar. Its second victim is the Emirati dialect, which according to A-8 faces possible extinction. In her own words: “Arabic classes don’t pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; instead the focus is directed to grammar and comprehension” (Participant Essay, A-8). She goes on to say:

Yet, how can a student develop and enhance his/hers ability to speak in another language if the basis of our work at school revolves around grammar? – In which cant be applied to an ‘unfamiliar’ language (quotation marks in the original).

The juxtaposition between A-8’s perceptions of her Emirati dialect, which she calls “our mother tongue” with that of the formal/classical Arabic taught in her school, which she refers to, alternately, as “another language” and an “unfamiliar language”, could not be more poignant.

The theory of diglossia, as initially defined by Ferguson (1959) and later extended by Fishman (1965) to encompass not only variations on a single language but also different languages, fails

to recognize the underlying conflict between languages and language variants (Williams, 1992). According to Woolard and Scieffelin (1994; pp. 69), diglossia is “an ideological naturalization of sociolinguistic arrangements” which emphasizes the consensual aspect of linguistic hierarchy over its conflicting side. Furthermore, the tendency of diglossia to compartmentalize languages and language variants into stable and bounded contexts has also come under criticism (Fasold, 1984). Garcia (2009) offers the term ‘*transglossia*’ as a more appropriate alternative to diglossia in describing societal bilingualism in an increasingly globalized world. She defines transglossia as: “a stable, and yet dynamic, communicative network with many languages in *functional interrelationship*, instead of being assigned separate functions” (italics in the original; pp. 79). In her conception of transglossia, Garcia sees languages as no longer being assigned distinct functions or spaces, but rather co-existing within the same territories. Furthermore, languages are no longer subject to hierarchical order based on whether they have more or less power, but are in fact used interchangeably depending on the frames of context and time.

It is all too clear that participant A-8’s thesis on the conflict she faces daily in her struggle to maintain her hold on her Emirati dialect, of which she is so fond, and the forced learning of formal Arabic which she seems to loathe, is an appeal to Garcia’s transglossia. In A-8’s view, the ‘new wave’ of Arabic spoken by young Emiratis should be embraced, rather than shunned or ridiculed. She in fact refers to this ‘new wave’ of spoken Arabic as “a new language” which she defines in the following manner: “... younger students speaking primarily in English throwing Arabic slang into their speech, creating a cocktail of what truly is the UAE” (Participant Essay, A-8). To her, the only means to ensure that young Emiratis “embrace their Arabic” lies in the acceptance by policy makers in the UAE of the need to replace the teaching of formal/classical Arabic in schools (particularly in the secondary years) with this ‘new wave’ of Emirati Arabic, thus “allowing the newer generation to make their own language”.

The ideas introduced by participant A-8 were put to the phase 2 respondents to the ‘Final Survey’ in the form of statements 40, 41 and 84 (please see Appendix 3). While a slight majority of the 226 respondents agreed with statements 40 and 41 (53% and 54%, respectively), only 48% of them supported statement 84. In fact, the antithesis to statement 84 (its tension partner), statement 83, had a 62% approval rating, with only 25% of the respondents stating that they either ‘Strongly’ or ‘Somewhat’ disagreed with it. It would seem that participant A-8’s

rallying call to her fellow young Emiratis of replacing classical Arabic classes with Emirati Arabic requires more time or refinement before catching on.

In summary, evidence gathered from responses to the phase 2 'Final Survey' suggests the existence of linguistic dualism within the perceptions of Emirati students, and lends legitimacy to the concerns over home language attrition and language shift within Dubai's Emirati society. The notion of transglossia compounds the debate while imposing an expanded framework in which to understand and further explore the complex relationship between formal Arabic, the Emirati dialect and English in the lives of young Emiratis.

## *7.2 Dubai's Bilingual Education Model*

The relevance of the bilingual model to Dubai's private education landscape, and the type/(s) of model that would best suit the needs of Emirati families relate directly to the fourth, fifth and sixth subsidiary questions raised by the study:

- *What are the perceptions among Emirati students of the benefits of bilingual education?*
- *What are the key components of Dubai's Arabic-English bilingual model?*
- *Is there only one suitable type of bilingual model, or multiple variants of it?*

### 7.2.1 Perceptions Among Emirati Students of the Benefits of Bilingual Education

In this subsection, I examine the third and final presupposition underpinning the investigation, alluded to in the 'Methodology' chapter, where I made the following assertion:

Although the question does assume that bilingual education has a role to play in addressing this dilemma, it makes no assumptions or speculations about the nature and type of bilingual model that will best suit Dubai's needs, leaving that to be inferred through the process of examining people's (in this case Emirati students') opinions on the matter.

No fewer than 14 statements in the 'Final Survey' addressed the topic of the benefits of bilingualism and its appropriateness to Dubai. All 14 statements appeared in section 5 paired as 'tension couplets': (69 ; 70), (71 ; 72), (73 ; 74), (75 ; 76), (77 ; 78), (79 ; 80) and (81 ; 82). As presented in chapter 6 (subsection 6.3.5), the first three 'tension couplets' in this list, and the

last two couplets, all exhibited 'Weak/Non-existent Tensions', indicating a strong bias towards one of the two opposing messages forwarded within each pair of statements, as summarized below:

- **Couplet (69 ; 70):** A majority of respondents believed that an Arabic-English bilingual school would be in high demand in Dubai, and rejected the notion that people disagree with the idea of a bilingual speaking school.
- **Couplet (71 ; 72):** A majority of respondents trusted that an Emirati parent choosing an Arabic-English bilingual school over an English-medium school for his/her child entailed no sacrifice.
- **Couplet (73 ; 74):** A large majority of respondents deemed that bilingual education made students smarter, gave them cross-cultural access and imparted future employment advantages, while only a minority of them believed that bilingual education would lead to dispersion of student thinking.
- **Couplet (79 ; 80):** The vast majority of respondents (over 84%) were convinced that bilingual education allowed parents to provide their children with the opportunity to reach their goals and to excel in their future, while a small minority thought the model would be overwhelming for learners, leading them to failure.
- **Couplet (81 ; 82):** 80% of respondents affirmed that the bilingual model plays an important role in the learning and teaching process, whereas only 22% thought the model would not succeed in Dubai due to it being ineffective.

Cumulatively, the above messages make a compelling argument in favour of the establishment of an Arabic-English bilingual model in Dubai. Further reinforcement derives from the fervently positive response to statement 35 ("I think schools have an important role to play in redressing the existing imbalance between Arabic and English") with which 76% of respondents were in favour (41% 'Strongly' agreed with it, while 35% 'Somewhat' agreed) and only 9% were in opposition (3% in 'Strong' disagreement, and 6% in 'Somewhat' disagreement).

The final two couplets, (75 ; 76) and (77 ; 78), which exhibited 'High Tension', address the specifics of language proficiency and attainment within the context of bilingual education, and the effects on long-term academic outcomes. Although the conflicting messages contained



within those high ‘tension couplets’ do not necessarily weaken the conclusion derived above concerning the relevance of the bilingual model to Dubai’s private education sector, they do, nevertheless, mirror some of the differing pedagogical arguments forwarded by proponents of the bilingual education model against those in the opposition camp, as discussed in some detail in section 3.3 of the ‘Literature Review’ chapter.

#### 7.2.2 Key Components of Dubai’s Arabic-English Bilingual Model

Section 4 of the ‘Final Survey’ contained five statements that relate to the motif of what constitutes the building blocks of Dubai’s proposed bilingual education model. These were: 45, 46, 47, 48, and 50 (the five statements are listed in Appendix 3). With all five statements gaining majority approval from the 226 respondents (percentage approvals ranging from 57% for statement 45, to 75% for statements 46 and 50), the following picture begins to unveil regarding some of the key components of Dubai’s Arabic-English bilingual model and/or the school adopting such a model:

- (1) *Explicit mention of ‘bilingualism’ as a stated goal in the mission statement* – This is very much in tune with Baker’s **strong** form of bilingual education, which he defines as: “forms of bilingual education that have bilingualism, biliteracy and biculturalism as intended outcomes” (2011; pp. 222).
- (2) *Equal status given to Arabic and English, both serving as mediums of instruction, with subjects divided (more or less) ‘equally’ between the two languages* – This component of the model emerging from the findings resonates with the clear distinction which Garcia (2009) makes between bilingual education and language teaching programmes, as detailed in section 3.1 of the ‘Literature Review’ chapter. It also means that the proposed model for Dubai’s Arabic-English bilingual schools fits well within Andersson and Boyer’s definition of bilingual education as “instruction in two languages and the use of those two languages as mediums of instruction for any part, or all, of the school curriculum” (1970; pp. 12).
- (3) *Utilization of Arabic and English native speaking staff in equal measure, or, alternatively, the deployment of bilingual staff* – In this case the findings lay one of the operational cornerstones of the model, which, not surprisingly, seeks to not only leverage the teaching talent available either locally or in the Arab region, but to also

ensure that Emirati students are able to relate to their teachers, both culturally and linguistically.

- (4) *The promotion and use of Arabic in everyday tasks, both at home and in school* – This is a clear statement by the participants in the research that the Arabic-English bilingual model should break away from the prevailing practice in English-medium schools of casting Arabic solely within the confines of formal instruction. For the language to become more alive for the Emirati youth, it needs to feature in other aspects of their daily interactions and experiences, such as school plays, exposure to Arab authors, poets and musicians, to name a few.

There is a striking resemblance between the above list and the characteristics that define some of the successful models of Arabic-English bilingual schools in the region, such as Kuwait's Al-Bayan Bilingual School, Jordan's Amman Baccalaureate School, and Bahrain's The Bahrain Bayan School and Ibn Khuldoon National School alluded to in the 'Context' chapter (see section 2.5 for further details). These characteristics include: (1) the desire to fuse Western-style education with Arab and Islamic values and traditions, (2) the use of the term bilingual education explicitly in their narrative, (3) substantial instructional time being allotted to teaching subjects using Arabic as a medium of instruction, especially in the primary years, (4) a student body that is predominantly native to the country, and (5) a faculty body composed of a blend of Western or Western-educated teachers and Arab teachers who are, themselves, bilingual. What makes this resemblance truly remarkable, is that in arriving at the four key components listed above the research participants, at least in my conviction, had little or no knowledge of the existence of these regional bilingual schools, let alone a deep knowledge of their *modus operandi*.

### 7.2.3 One Type Fits All Versus Multiple Variants

Plurality is a marked characteristic of Dubai's K-12 private education sector, being host to the highest number of international schools worldwide according to the International Schools Consultancy (ISC, 2018), that span the spectrum of no fewer than 16 different curricula (please refer to the 'Context' chapter for further details, particularly sections 2.3 and 2.4). It stands to reason, therefore, that a successful Arabic-English bilingual model should exhibit similar multiplicity in type and form, if it is to appeal to the broad and varied demands of the Emirati

consumer, as well as others who may find this model of education appealing, such as Arab expatriate families, and some non-Arab Muslim families to whom the acquisition of Arabic, the language in which the Qur'an was revealed, can be a pressing desire.

Statement 44 in section 4 of the 'Final Survey' speaks to this point explicitly, stating that: "Different programmes should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all". 64% of respondents agreed with the statement, while only 9% disagreed with it. It would therefore seem that, provided that it exhibited the four core components listed in the previous subsection, Dubai's bilingual model could potentially take any of Baker's (2011) four **strong forms** for the promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy: *immersion*, *maintenance*, *dual language*, or *mainstream*. The remainder of this subsection presents a hypothetical sketch of the kind of bilingual school that may succeed in Dubai according to each of the aforementioned types.

- *Immersion School for the Promotion of Arabic-English Bilingualism and Biliteracy: A school of this type would take its lead from the Canadian example (Lambert & Tucker, 1972), as mentioned in section 3.2 of the 'Literature Review' chapter, except in this case immersion, or more precisely *early immersion*, would be in the first language of the Emirati student cohort, namely Arabic, rather than the second language (English), as was the case in Canada's French speaking provinces. In this instance, Arabic would be the only medium of instruction for the kindergarten and either all or at least half of the primary years, with English being taught as a foreign language. Enrichment of English may be provided outside the classroom, through extra-curricular programmes including reading or drama clubs, for example, depending on the demographics and other variables that the school may experience. A transition into dual language provision could take place at the end of the immersion years, which as mentioned previously may extend up to half or all of primary education. This type of bilingual offering seems well adapted to situations where Emiratis constitute the large majority of students enrolled in the school, and where Emirati families in particular find the incidence of the use of Arabic to be very restricted in the lives of their children, around the home or within the social circles in which the children spend a majority of their time, as well as in the kinds of activities that they enjoy doing. The immersion is meant to establish strong foundations for the home language of these young learners, without*

causing them to lose touch with English entirely. A school of this type would undoubtedly utilize bilingual teachers in order to successfully deliver the immersion component of its offering, if not for the entire school.

- *Maintenance School for the Promotion of Arabic-English Bilingualism and Biliteracy:*  
This type of school would not differ materially from the immersion type presented above, except that the 100% early immersion may be diluted to some degree, with English sharing part of the responsibilities of delivering the curriculum with Arabic. The Arabic-English split across the subjects taught in the school in those early years could be anywhere from 80:20 (in favour of Arabic) to 50:50. Another differentiating factor between this type of school and the immersion school is that within the maintenance type, the ratio between the provision of Arabic compared to English in favour of the former is more likely to extend beyond the early years to include all of the middle and possibly even the secondary years of schooling. The expected student demographic in a school of this kind is similar to that of immersion schools, namely predominantly Emirati. This type of school may appeal to Emirati families who, although are concerned about home language attrition and therefore keen for their children to establish a strong initial foundation in Arabic, may find the immersion model a bit too drastic compared to what they are used to today in the form of English-medium schools. As in the case of immersion schools, the deployment of bilingual teachers would be an appropriate choice for this type of school, although the use of side-by-side teachers, one being an Arabic native speaker, the other an English native speaker, may also prove appropriate.
- *Dual Language School for the Promotion of Arabic-English Bilingualism and Biliteracy:*  
This type of school would, in my opinion, be the most popular and the most in demand, as it would appeal not just to Emirati and Arab expatriate families, but to families of other non-Arab nationalities as well, who may be keen that their children grow up to become bilingual in Arabic and English. Arabic, being the language of the Holy Qur'an, has a strong appeal to many Muslim families who are not Arabs. In such a school Arabic and English would be used in more or less equal measure as mediums of instruction. Variations within this type abound, as the choice of which subjects to teach in one language versus the other may be an influencing factor when a parent makes his/her

school decision. Far too often, the so-called ‘soft subjects’ such as the humanities (social studies, art, music, etc.) are taught in Arabic in an Arabic-English dual programme, whereas the ‘hard subjects’ of science and mathematics are left within the sphere of influence of English. It would be a refreshing change to see a dual language school in which the reverse were true. Another variation on the theme within the dual language form is frequent switching of language across subjects. The Swiss International Scientific School (SISS), which is a recent entrant into the Dubai education market, provides a working example of this approach. SISS offers students three different study streams: (1) English with additional languages, (2) bilingual English-French, or (3) bilingual English-German (SISS, 2018). Within the bilingual streams, an English teacher assigned to a class teaches all subjects in his/her medium during the course of one week, at the end of which he/she hands over to his/her French or German colleague who picks up the trail and continues with the instructional journey, but this time in French or German. An Arabic-English dual language bilingual school may follow SISS’s example. Irrespective of whether this type of Arabic-English school offers side-by-side or sequential teaching, the balance that it brings to the two languages, if implemented correctly, has the greatest potential to succeed, both commercially and pedagogically.

- *Mainstream School for the Promotion of Arabic-English Bilingualism and Biliteracy:* In Baker’s conception, mainstream bilingual programmes, which are also known as bilingual education in majority languages, refer to the use of two majority languages that are positioned on par with each other within societies in which the majority of the population is bilingual. This of course is not applicable to Dubai, although one may argue that it could apply to the bracket of Dubai’s population that is Emirati. In this case therefore a school following mainstream or two majority languages is akin to one adopting a dual language form, as described in the preceding paragraph.

It is important to point out at this stage that whatever form or forms Dubai’s Arabic-English bilingual model may take, its success will depend on the degree to which it can fuse with one or the other of the popular international curricula, which for Dubai’s Emirati population are the American, National Curriculum for England and the International Baccalaureate. The reason for this is that Emirati parents who might wish to avail of bilingual schooling for their children will

still need the reassurance that they will be doing so within the structure of a recognized international programme and that the credentials their children will gain upon completion of their schooling years will have currency in the tertiary educational space or the job market. Naturally, the less 'prescriptive' the curriculum, the higher would be the rate of success of such an amalgamation, which explains why the aforementioned successful examples of Arabic-English bilingual schools in Kuwait, Jordan and Bahrain are all based on either the American (US) or IB models. This is because the US and IB programmes serve largely as frameworks with prescribed attainment targets for pedagogical and life skills, whereas the NCE is much more prescriptive about content coverage.

A final point, before progressing to a discussion of the development and implementation of the model, concerns the responses by the phase 2 research participants to two statements appearing in section 4 of the 'Final Survey': 42 ("The bilingual model should be limited to the primary and middle years, and should be discontinued in secondary school") and 43 ("Younger students are more capable of processing and absorbing information, and are able to easily flip between languages"). 50% of respondents disagreed with the former statement, while only 26% agreed with it. In contrast, 60% of respondents supported the latter statement, while only 15% rejected it. This leads to the conclusion that amongst the research participants there is a belief that younger students are more amenable to absorbing and processing multiple languages, but that restricting the bilingual programme strictly to the primary years is not necessarily desirable.

### *7.3 Development and Implementation of Dubai's Bilingual Education Model*

In seeking to answer the first six subsidiary research questions, sections 7.1 and 7.2 were able to address the component of the main research question that relates to the *type* of Arabic-English bilingual model that can meet the desires of Emirati families. This section tackles the last two subsidiary questions, which link with the aspects of the main research question that probe the *development and implementation* of the model. These questions are:

- *What are the obstacles and opportunities for the model to take root and succeed?*
- *Should the model be offered universally or by choice? Should it be selective or inclusive?*

### 7.3.1 Obstacles and Opportunities

Four statements in section 4 of the 'Final Survey' dealt with the obstacles currently standing in the way of an Arabic-English bilingual model in Dubai. These are: 39, 52, 53 and 54 (the statements are listed in Appendix 3). Although the approval percentages for these statements are not very high, hovering between 51% and a maximum of 60%, it is still reasonable to deduce that among the list of priorities for any school operator when planning for an Arabic-English bilingual programme are:

- (1) Uncovering ways in which to control the cost of operations, especially staffing costs which can be very high when side-by-side bilingual instruction is in effect.
- (2) Getting the balance right between the two languages as mediums of instruction.
- (3) Identifying, training and retraining the right teachers for the job.

The positive response (67% approval rate) that the 226 participants in phase 2 had to statement 51 provides food for thought on what would be the most effective means by which the authorities in Dubai responsible for the education sector could support the development and subsequent growth of this educational model within the K-12 private sector. Should the government directly invest in building private schools that offer Arabic-English bilingual programmes, thus competing with other privately owned schools for students? Or should the authorities devise a system of incentives, financial or otherwise, to help make the realization of the model more economically viable?

The most likely answer to the first question is no, for the simple reason that such an approach betrays the mantra upon which Dubai has built its vibrant economic base: lay the groundwork for a particular industry to flourish, and then allow the private sector to invest and benefit from it, as expounded in section 2.2 of the 'Context' chapter. One may argue that education should answer to a higher calling than economic profit, but in Dubai, the formula is different, as evidenced by the fact that vast majority of its education services in the K-12 sector is in the hands of private owners and institutions (please refer to section 2.3 for further details). Therefore, it would be naïve to imagine that the solution to realizing the bilingual model should lie in a complete reinvention of education in the city-state, based on more egalitarian principles. Furthermore, public schools are still in existence and if bilingual education, along the

lines introduced through the Abu Dhabi initiative (see section 3.5 of the 'Literature Review'), is to find its way into Dubai's government schools then so be it. Dubai certainly has the means and opportunity to do so within its state-owned and operated schools. The purpose of this enquiry is to examine the means by which Arabic-English bilingual education can find its niche within the private education sector, and direct investment by the government is an unlikely way for this to happen. Hence there is a need to consider agencies through which the regulatory powers within Dubai, backed by the financial and policy might of the government, can, indirectly, support the proliferation of Arabic-English bilingual education.

In my opinion, Dubai has a great opportunity to bring this seemingly desirable educational model into fruition, while solving a number of its present day socioeconomic problems, including lack of motivation among many Emirati students, particularly males, and the high incidence of youth unemployment (Ridge, 2014).

Unemployment rates among UAE nationals have been as high in recent years as 20.8% (Al Makahleh, Badih & Sabry, 2012; Sabry & Zaman, 2013). Emiratis tend to favour public sector employment over the private sector, where salaries and benefits can be anything from one-half to one-third those of the former (Hertog, 2012). According to Issa (2013), UAE nationals accounted for less than 1% of the private sector workforce in 2012. The UAE government is acutely aware of the dangers of high youth unemployment, not only because it leads to economic dependency and decreased consumption (Braxton, 2011), but also in terms of the inherent dangers of social unrest (Ridge, 2014). To address this issue, various nationalization initiatives have been launched, targeting sectors such banking and certain trans-sectoral departments such as human resources (Randeree, 2012).

Within education, while Emirati female teachers have majority representation in the state-school sector, very few choose to practise their profession within the private sector. The situation is even more extreme in the case of male Emirati teachers, who in the state sector account for roughly 20% of the workforce, the majority of whom are in administration (Ridge, 2010)<sup>27</sup>. As a result, boys schools in the state sector are staffed predominantly by expatriate contract teachers sourced largely from Jordan, Egypt or Syria, many of whom are not trained

---

<sup>27</sup> *When it comes to Emirati male teachers working in the private sector, you would be hard pressed to find a single such individual in Dubai's 185 private schools.*



teachers but are in fact subject specialists, and whose overriding priority is remaining employed (a necessary condition for their continued residency in the UAE), rather than the welfare and academic advancement of their students (Ridge, 2014).

It seems to me that the best way for Dubai to champion the Arabic-English bilingual model is to invest in training new Emirati teachers, both male and female, and retraining existing ones to eventually staff those schools. During their training, the apprentice teachers could undergo prolonged internship experiences with some of Dubai's leading international English-medium schools, not only to sharpen their pedagogical skills, but also to strengthen their command of English, which they would need to depend on when the time comes for them to take charge of their own classrooms in the role of bilingual educators. For those candidates who successfully complete their training and apprenticeship, the government could partially support them financially as they seek employment at private sector pay scales. At the same time, some of the funds currently used to pay for initiatives such as the Mohammed bin Rashid Distinguished Students Programme, mentioned in the 'Context' chapter, could be channeled towards offering scholarships to Emirati students who choose to enroll in one or another of this new breed of bilingual private school. For investors, this form of government support helps in two ways: access to local and affordable bilingual teachers, and a guaranteed minimum student intake through the scholarship programme. Such a combination of incentives should prove attractive to many entrepreneurs seeking to enter the market as well as existing school owners. An added benefit to such a scheme is the exposure of young Emirati students to teachers who are also Emirati, a point raised by Ridge (2014) in her discourse on why young Emirati school boys are underachieving compared to their female counterparts. Statement 56 in the 'Final Survey' addressed this specific issue, receiving a 74% approval rating from the participants.

### 7.3.2 Universal or Choice-Based; Elitist or Egalitarian

The 'Context' chapter drew some parallels between Dubai's development as an *entrepôt state* with both Singapore and Hong Kong (Haggard, 1990), but also made clear that when it came to their educational systems, each one of these city-states has chartered its own separate course. This section briefly describes the paths taken by Singapore and Hong Kong, focusing on the role played by language policy, as a means of offering some form of framework or context from

which Dubai's bilingual aspirations may benefit, before proceeding with sketching a possible scenario for Dubai going forward.

During the 150 years in which Hong Kong was a British colony, the affluent and influential segment of Hong Kong society viewed English as the language of prestige, and encouraged its use in educating the elite of society (Martin-Jones & Saxena; 1996). Pennycook (2002), in fact, characterises this phenomenon as language being used as an instrument to subjugate the people of Hong Kong, in sympathy with Bourdieu's view of language as a symbolic resource that can be assigned social value (1991). When sovereignty of Hong Kong passed to China in 1997, the new central government introduced a language education policy based on the principle of home language (namely Cantonese) plus two modern languages (Tsui, 2007). At the primary level, learners study mainly in Cantonese, with English and Mandarin taught as foreign languages. In secondary schooling a dual-system exists, Chinese-medium schools, accounting for about 80% of the provision, and English-medium schools, representing the remaining 20% (Garcia, 2009). English-medium schools are only allowed to exist if they can prove to the satisfaction of the educational authorities that they are able to recruit suitably qualified teachers, and, accordingly, to use the medium effectively (Mejia, 2002). Only the most capable students are permitted enrolment in English-medium secondary schools. Characterizing Hong Kong's educational system as being 'ideologically bilingual' (or trilingual for that matter with the triumvirate of Cantonese, Mandarin and English) is problematic to say the least, especially in light of the official policy of the government of promoting Chinese language medium instruction as a matter of priority (So, 2002). A more appropriate label would be either *transitional* or *mainstream with foreign language teaching* according to Baker's typology (2011). As a result of this policy the level of proficiency in English and Mandarin in the primary years falls well short of expectations, and the reality of what happens in secondary schools (Mandarin-medium and English-medium alike) is a proliferation of code-switching between Cantonese and the official/target language of instruction (Tsui, 2004).

Singapore has long been held as a leading example of state-sponsored universal bilingual education, and is singled out by Baker (2011) as one of those states where *mainstream bilingual programmes*, or *bilingual education in majority languages*, is a natural fit, given that Singaporean society is already bilingual, or multilingual. The reality of Singapore's language policy is in fact much more complex. When Singapore became an independent state in 1959, it

adopted a language policy based on four official languages, reflecting its ethnic composition: English, Mandarin Chinese, Malay and Tamil (Dixon, 2003). The policy did not, however, place the so-called 'ethnic home languages' of Mandarin, Malay and Tamil on an equal footing with English. Only English was and is still used as the medium of instruction in schools, although every student is required to develop his/her language and literacy skills in his/her home language (Garcia, 2009). Mandarin, Malay and Tamil are taught as subjects within English-medium schooling. English is "promoted as the 'working-language' of Singapore for inter-ethnic communication" (Dixon, 2003; pp.3, quotation marks in the original); it is also "seen as the language of science, mathematics and technology, while the three home languages were designated the transmitters of cultural values and norms" (Dixon, 2003; pp.8).

Hong Kong and Singapore's language policies, as well as Abu Dhabi's experimentation with side-by-side partial immersion in English (Gallagher, 2011), provide ample food for thought as Dubai contemplates its options of how best to introduce bilingual education into its private K-12 education sector. To date, the educational authorities in Dubai have held on to the long-established language policy of requiring all private schools to teach Arabic, an average of four to six periods per week, as a subject at two levels: one aimed at native speakers, referred to as 'Arabic A', and the other aimed at non-Arabs, referred to as 'Arabic B', in addition to Arabic Social Studies, one period a week, and Islamic Studies, two or three periods per week (please refer to the 'Context' chapter for further details). Provided they adhere to this policy, private schools in Dubai are free to select their language of instruction (most of them choose English), and their curriculum. As a result of this policy, Arabic proficiency among Emirati students has consistently disappointed, as acknowledged in the KHDA's (2015b) report reflecting on seven years of school inspections entitled *Inspecting for School Improvement: A Collaborative Journey, 2008-2015 Key Findings*. As mentioned in section 2.4, the report champions the benefits of bilingual education to students' intellectual, social and educational development, stating clearly "that students who learn English and continue to develop their native language tend to have higher academic achievement in later years than do students who learn English at the expense of their first language" (KHDA, 2015b; pp. 16). This raises the question of whether the KHDA should consider revising its language policy to raise the status of Arabic to a level that matches that of English in Dubai's English-medium schools.

At face value, the resemblances between Singapore and Dubai are quite striking. Both states have diverse populations, although in the case of Dubai diversity stems from its multinational, transient expatriate population, whereas in Singapore diversity extends to include the indigenous population. By virtue of this diversity, and their respective roles as commercial hubs for their regions in terms of trade in goods and services, and as a pragmatic solution for inter-ethnic communication, both states have adopted English as their *lingua franca*. Moreover, English-medium instruction is the dominant feature of the respective educational systems in both Dubai and Singapore: in the case of Dubai, this phenomenon is a result of organic market-driven growth within its prevalent private sector, while in Singapore it is a result of central planning for the dominant state schooling sector. However, when it comes to language educational policy there is little that Dubai's policy makers can learn from the Singapore example. Singapore's language policies have hardly shifted since 1979 (Dixon, 2003), and they continue to champion the use of English as the only medium of instruction, a feature already present in most private schools in Dubai, and one that has, arguably, been responsible for the erosion of Arabic language proficiency among Emirati students (Gallagher, 2011).

By a similar argument to that which was applied in the preceding subsection when discussing the opportunities available to Dubai's policy makers in ensuring that the bilingual model has a chance to be realized, the Abu Dhabi experiment with its reliance on universality can be discounted as an option for Dubai. Theoretically, Dubai can revise its existing language policy described earlier in this subsection, to extend the reach of the Arabic language to more subjects in the curriculum and to receive more classroom time; and the KHDA can use its regulatory authority to enforce such a policy. In reality, though, given the KHDA's history of championing plurality and diversity within the private K-12 sector, the likelihood of such a draconian approach is very low.

There remains the Hong Kong example, which in my opinion is well suited to Dubai's context and circumstances. By encouraging the development and proliferation of various 'strong' types of bilingual models, along the lines described in subsection 7.2.3, and supporting them through favourable regulatory frameworks, investment in the initial training and retraining of Emirati teachers, and subsidizing Emirati families wishing to enrol their children in such schools, Dubai will be helping to create a new subcategory of private schools, not unlike Hong Kong's English-medium schools. Although Hong Kong has chosen the route of academic elitism to populate this segment of its educational system, Dubai may adopt a more egalitarian approach, based on

the desire of parents of these children to avail of the best of both worlds: world-class international schooling that is strongly rooted in Emirati culture. The incentives offered to owners and operators of these schools, can and should, as in the case of Hong Kong, be based on convincing evidence that these schools will espouse the bilingual mantra, be operated effectively and be staffed by the right profile of teachers who will be advocates for the stated objective of producing functional bilingual and biliterate students.

\* \* \*

To summarize, there is ample evidence from the findings to support the three presuppositions upon which the enquiry was built: (1) the existence of linguistic dualism between Arabic and English in the lives of Dubai's Emirati population, resulting in a language shift, particularly among the younger generation of Emiratis, (2) the dilemma confronting Emirati parents over choice of schooling for their children, and (3) the potential positive role that the introduction of an Arabic-English bilingual model into Dubai's K-12 private education sector may have in addressing these issues. The evidence also points to four core principles that define Dubai's bilingual model: (1) explicit mention of bilingualism as a stated goal; (2) the use of Arabic and English as mediums of instruction, with subjects divided more or less equally between them; (3) the deployment of Arabic and English teachers in equal measure, or, alternatively, the utilization of bilingual teachers; and (4) the promotion and use of Arabic in everyday tasks, both at home and in school. Contextual factors, supported by findings from the investigation, suggest that one-size-fits-all may not be the most desirable approach when it comes to the type of bilingual model suited to the needs of Dubai's Emirati population. Provided that it upholds the aforementioned four core principles, the model could assume any of Baker's (2011) four strong forms for the promotion of bilingualism and biliteracy: *immersion* (in the case of Dubai, this would be home language immersion), *maintenance*, *dual language*, or *mainstream*. Finally, there are many ways in which the government of Dubai, and its regulator for private education, the KHDA (who are indeed motivated to promote bilingual education as a means to possibly reverse the language shift caused by the pre-eminence of English-medium schools) can support the model, including investment in the initial training and retraining of Emirati teachers with the end goal that these teachers would populate Dubai's Arabic-English bilingual schools, while also partially funding scholarship programmes that would encourage Emirati parents to select bilingual schools over other types.

## CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

This investigation sought to answer the question: *what type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model could be developed and implemented in Dubai's private K-12 sector*. The enquiry, split over two sequential phases, one qualitative, the other quantitative, focused exclusively on the Emirati student perspective. Based on the evidence detailed in chapters 5 and 6, and the key findings inferred from them presented in the 'Discussion' chapter, I would argue that, within the limitations set by the choice of participants, the question has been answered.

This study makes no assertion that bilingual education alone can resolve the dilemma faced by Emirati parents, who see the value of a modern/global education as a springboard for their children's future prospects within tertiary education and their professional careers, while mourning the potential loss of their native language and culture. As described in the 'Context' chapter, the pervasiveness of English affects many facets of the life of a young Emirati living in Dubai. Schooling is just one of those facets, and is the area to which the enquiry orients its aims and its research questions.

Beyond the narrow remit of answering the questions it raises, however, the enquiry seeks to inform existing literature on three rich and ever expanding areas of social science research: (1) defining bilingual education, (2) the different forms and types that bilingual education can assume, and (3) the means through which bilingual programmes can be developed and implemented, particularly within the context of capitalist developmental states.

One of the significant results from the present study is the manner in which the data seamlessly coalesced to produce a consensual (consensual from the perspective of the 12 Emirati students in phase 1 who were responsible for the 'raw' data, and the 226 respondents to the 'processed' data in phase 2) definition of bilingual education that matches theory. I consider this outcome to be noteworthy because the people who are responsible for it were, more likely than not, ignorant of the nuances in the literature concerning the definition of the term. One way of looking at this facet of the enquiry is to consider the exercise as a 'democratic' process of reaching a definition for bilingual education, and which happened to confirm the majority view of professional researchers on the topic. In attempting to rationalize

how this came about, I draw on two elements that I believe the participants took for granted, attested by the findings from the enquiry, simply because these were elements drawn from their everyday experiences. The first is an acceptance that their Arabic proficiency was in jeopardy. Naturally, the respondents linked this threat with the language policies of the English-medium schools that they attend. The second is their understanding of how the *other* has fared – the *other* being the Emirati student attending a public school, who may be a sibling, a cousin or a friend. The *other's* command of Arabic is clearly perceived by the study's respondents to be superior to their own, but at the cost of a relatively weaker mastery of English. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the respondents would instinctively look for a solution that straddles the middle ground between the linguistic policies of those two polar opposite models within Dubai's education system, one where both languages are used as media of instruction and where the weighting between them is roughly equal. It is unclear whether the agreement between theory and experimental results observed in this instance is unique to the circumstances of the Emirati student in private education, or whether it transfers to other groups within Dubai, or indeed other parts of the world. What the enquiry does offer, however, is a methodological framework in which this thesis can be put to the test across a variety of stakeholder and geographical contexts.

The varied typology for Dubai's Arabic-English bilingual programme emerging from this investigation as detailed in section 7.2.3 is testimony to Mackey's (1972) thesis that the type of bilingual model that may suit one segment of a community may not necessarily suit another; this is where factors such as context and desired outcomes come into the picture. It also imposes broader definitions for some of Baker's (2011) typologies. For instance, *immersion* within Baker's typology usually means immersion in the 'second language' that the learner is hoping to acquire. In the case of Dubai, as I have argued, the pressing demand is for immersion in the Emirati learner's 'first language', Arabic. The findings from the enquiry also introduce Arabic diglossia into the frame, adding a further layer of complexity into the typology discourse, one that is largely ignored by Baker. The presence of Arabic diglossia means that the arena of linguistic contestation for Emiratis actually involves three languages, as classical Arabic can be argued to be sufficiently distinct from the Emirati spoken Arabic to warrant the two being considered separate languages (Al-Khatib, 2006). Thus far, formal schooling in Dubai has largely kept the Emirati dialect out of the classroom, and in so doing, according to at least one of the phase 1 participants, has contributed to its demise, "ultimately failing to save another

dying branch of the language” (Participant Essay, A-8), according to her. Perhaps new variants of the types of Arabic-English bilingual programmes listed in the ‘Discussion’ chapter (section 7.2.3) should be considered, ones where the Emirati dialect would be kept alive through exposing students to media productions in the Emirati dialect, organised interactions with elders from the community, and linguistic competitions centred around Emirati prose or poetry. There may even be a place for a model whereby, as suggested by Participant A-8, once the foundations of classical Arabic are laid down during the primary years of schooling, classical Arabic segues to Emirati Arabic in the secondary years. Diglossia, of course, is not exclusive to Dubai, nor is Arabic its sole domain. Researchers in other parts of the Arab world, and indeed elsewhere where language diglossia is prevalent, seeking to answer questions similar to those posed by this enquiry, will need to understand the role that diglossia plays in the lives of the people they are investigating, and find ways in which the type of bilingual model being considered for them can take its effects into consideration.

In presenting some of the solutions that might help in the implementation of Dubai’s Arabic-English bilingual model, the ‘Discussion’ chapter drew on the principle of *embedded autonomy* (Evans, 1989), championed by Dubai’s interventionist style of government. Dubai’s take on embedded autonomy is typified by the government singling out a certain economic or social sector for development and laying down what it perceives to be the necessary enablers for that sector to flourish (mostly through introducing favourable regulation, and offering land grants or other forms of financial subsidy) while encouraging private sector investment. I have made the argument that the success of Dubai’s Arabic-English bilingual model will depend on the degree to which the government would be willing to support it and thereby lay the groundwork for private enterprise to bring it to fruition. Researchers working in countries that follow a similar philosophy of governance (referred to by Lauridson (1995) as the *capitalist developmental state* paradigm) and seeking to explore public sentiment in relation to a particular social problem or social aspiration may benefit from the approach demonstrated by the present study.

Finally, and as stated previously in section 4.5 (‘Validity’), this study lays no claim to generalizing its conclusions to the wider population of Emiratis living in Dubai, nor does it endeavour for its conclusions to be extrapolated to other comparable settings. The methodology adopted by the enquiry does, however, offer the potential of transferability to



research that has dual aspects: *emic*, where the investigation focuses on the discovery of meanings ascribed by the research participants; and *etic*, where the interpretation and presentation of data is done with the intention of garnering broader meaning for a wider audience (Gough & Scott, 2000). The study hopes to advance these methodological approaches that may prove useful to other researchers, especially in cases where the research questions being investigated explore the views of people facing a dilemma or a difficult choice.

\*       \*       \*

In summary, the enquiry's contribution to knowledge relates to three areas:

- *Typology of bilingual education* – I have argued that my findings advocate an expanded understanding of Baker's typology (2011), in particular with regards to Baker's so-called **strong forms**. In the extended typology proposed by the enquiry, factors such as context, desired outcomes and the added complexity of diglossia play a key role in defining new forms of strong bilingual education.
- *'Uncharted' landscapes* – With research on bilingualism and bilingual education in the Arab region being in short supply (Gallagher, 2011), the enquiry offered a rare glimpse into the lives of young Emirati students in private education, revealing some insights into how they choose to make sense of the *linguistic dualism* in which they are immersed, both *within* and *without* the confines of their formal schooling. It also offered us intuition into how these young learners view bilingual education as a 'concept' to be defined within their own specific contexts and as a 'practical solution' to the threat they face of attrition or loss of home language. That the solutions for implementing an Arabic-English bilingual educational model needed to heed the socio-political factors of Dubai's *embedded autonomy* style of government presented further extension of the frontiers of research in this field.
- *Methodological approaches* – The application of data transfer within a mixed methods approach and data coding through the use of 'loose networks' to extract certain tensions from the thematic analysis of qualitative data is not, in and of itself, an innovation that the enquiry can claim, having been first introduced by Gough and Scott (2000). However, I have reasoned that the application of these powerful methodological approaches to the themes raised by the enquiry does constitute an

innovation. More importantly, I have proposed that these approaches may prove beneficial to social science researchers whose areas of interest involve the exploration of the views of people facing a difficult choice.

Finally, looking to the future, it is my hope that the findings and conclusions from this enquiry shall form the foundations upon which I, and other like-minded researchers and education practitioners (whether they be Dubai-based or not), could build a case for the introduction of such an educational model into Dubai's K-12 private education sector. I certainly intend to leverage my position as shareholder and Board Director at Taaleem, Dubai's second-largest private education provider, to raise awareness of the issues raised by the enquiry among the policy makers at KHDA and the association of school owners and operators, and to put forward to these groups some of the solutions suggested in this thesis. I do this for two reasons which are interlinked: firstly, my strong belief of the benefits to Dubai society, particularly Emiratis, that such a model of education could engender; and secondly, to fulfil my implicit promise to the wonderful students who took the time to take part in the study, namely that the research should be *for* them (and indeed benefit them), as much as it was conducted *with* them.

## CHAPTER 9: REFLECTIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Upon reflection, two aspects of the methodology adopted by the investigation are worth mentioning. The first relates to the decision I made favouring the use of student essays as a methodological tool over conducting interviews with the student participants during phase 1 of the investigation. In section 4.3 I listed my rationale for doing so, offering two arguments: (1) a desire to minimize 'investigation effects' (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009), and (2) allowing the students time to collect their thoughts on the topics under discussion as they composed their arguments. Of course, essays have the disadvantage over interviews of precluding the investigator from seeking certain clarifications or probing deeper into a particular area that may prove of interest. I now believe that either approach could have worked. In the end the choice that I made proved to be perfectly acceptable, given the rich data that were contained and later extracted from the 12 collected essays. The second aspect concerns the introduction of 'guiding questions' when roles were assigned to the phase 1 participants. As mentioned in section 4.3 of the 'Methodology' chapter, role-play was intended to broaden the scope of the arguments put forward by the students so that the facets of the enquiry such as the Emirati parent's dilemma in choosing the right school, the economies involved in implementing a bilingual model and barriers to its entry, among others, would not be ignored. To a large extent, and based on a comparison between the breadth of the arguments put forward during the current enquiry and those collected during the 2016 pilot study, in which no guiding questions were used (Azzam, 2016), the tool proved to be effective. Although a similar set of themes emerged from analysis of the five essays collected during the pilot study, there were areas of interest to the investigation that were not fully developed, such as parent dilemma concerning school choice, the different typologies that the Arabic-English model can take, details of the obstacles standing in the way of the model being realized and the tools available to policy makers in championing it.

This enquiry, albeit concluded, gives rise to many more questions, which I hope will lead to further areas of investigation. Among the questions that I believe warrant future research, some of which are inspired by those posed by Gallagher (2011), as detailed in section 3.5, are:

- (1) *Is a shared definition of bilingual education possible among the various stakeholders within Dubai's K-12 private sector?*

- (2) *What are the pros and cons of restricting the model to just the primary years of schooling?*
- (3) *Will improvement in children's Arabic be enough?*
- (4) *Will children's English suffer?*
- (5) *How will the bilingual programme affect attainment in other subjects, specifically mathematics and science?*

The remainder of this chapter addresses each of these questions briefly, and, where appropriate, offers suggested 'thought experiments' that may help answer them.

*(1) "Is a shared definition of bilingual education possible among the various stakeholders within Dubai's K-12 private sector?"*

As mentioned in the 'Introduction' chapter, it would be interesting to solicit the views of Emirati parents by asking them to respond to the same 'Final Survey' generated in the current enquiry, thus either confirming or refuting some or all of the conclusions derived. Similarly, it would be equally intriguing to conduct a mixed methods study that parallels phases 1 and 2 of the current enquiry, but where the original narrative data is collected from parents, not students. Such an investigation would carry the same dual characteristics of the current enquiry, being both exploratory and confirmatory. The researcher in this case would have to address the added complication that a subset of the research participants would either be unable to, or prefer, to submit their arguments in Arabic rather than English, and of course replacing essays with interviews may prove more prudent given the nature of the participants. A further phase may follow in which school-based professionals, school owners and regulators would be interviewed. Although these interviews would rely mainly on the use of open-ended questions, it would be noteworthy to solicit the views of the interviewees on some of the tension statements derived from earlier phases.

*(2) "What are the pros and cons of restricting the model to just the primary years of schooling?"*

In posing this question, or a similar one, in the context of Abu Dhabi's side-by-side early partial immersion in English experiment, Gallagher (2011) refers to the work of Lightbown and Spada (2006; pp. 74) who contend that: "when it is assumed that the child's native language will remain the primary language, it may be more effective to begin second language or foreign language teaching later". An exploratory study, employing a largely qualitative strategy based

on interviews conducted with teachers and school leaders selected from Dubai's private schools, could, conceivably, shed further light on this thesis.

*(3) "Will improvement in children's Arabic be enough?"*

In answering such a question, the researcher would first need to understand the expectations of stakeholders as to what constitutes 'satisfactory progress' and either devise or borrow an existing tool to measure it. The rubric currently in use by the Dubai School Inspection Bureau (DSIB) would be a pragmatic place to start. The investigation would take on a quantitative longitudinal character. A sample of Grade 1 Emirati students would be selected from one or several English-medium school/(s), and their Arabic aptitude would be measured over a two to five year period. In parallel, similar measurements would be made to a sample of Grade 1 Emirati students attending one or several of the newly introduced Arabic-English bilingual schools over an equal period of time. The two sets of data would then be compared. The researcher would have to account for the multitude of externalities that might have bearing on the results of his/her investigation.

*(4) "Will children's English suffer?"*

I predict this question will be of paramount importance in the minds of Emirati parents when faced with choosing between an English-medium school and an Arabic-English bilingual school. Garcia (2011) addresses the flip side of this question within the Abu Dhabi context: namely, *"Will children's Arabic suffer?"* and refers to the work of Cummins (2000) evidencing that the brain is capable of absorbing and processing multiple languages simultaneously. A longitudinal study similar to the one described in the preceding paragraph, but where the measurement is of English language aptitude, has the potential to shed light on this matter.

*(5) "How will the bilingual programme affect attainment in other subjects, specifically mathematics and science?"*

As mentioned in the 'Discussion' chapter, Dubai's Arabic-English bilingual model can take many forms, within which the choice of what language of instruction to use when teaching subjects such as science and mathematics would be wide open. For example, one type of school may opt to teach mathematics and science in Arabic until the middle of primary schooling, and transition thereafter into English, as in the case of IKNS in Bahrain. Hypothetically, a study may be devised to compare the performance of students in those subjects, using one or another of

the standardised tests (such as TIMSS, PISA or CAT), across three 'control' types of Arabic-English bilingual schools: one where science and mathematics are taught in Arabic all the way through until the 'examination years' (an example of late-late immersion in English in those subjects); a second where a transition from Arabic instruction to English instruction in those subjects happens earlier; and a third where mathematics and science are taught in English throughout the children's schooling years.

\* \* \*

*Postscript:*

Since the publication of Gallagher's article (2011), no further investigation, as far as I know, has been conducted to ascertain the extent to which ADEC's original aims for the introduction of the early immersion bilingual model into Abu Dhabi's public K-12 sector have been achieved. No public information has been made available, either about the scope or the ongoing implementation of this experiment, nor of any early results. This is an area of noteworthy interest, and warrants further investigation.

## REFERENCES

- AAM, Al Mizhar American Academy School (2017). <http://www.americanacademy.ae/>
- ADEC (2017) website. <https://www.adek.abudhabi.ae/en/Pages/default.aspx>
- AIPS, Al Ittihad Private Schools (2017). [www.ittihadschools.com](http://www.ittihadschools.com)
- Al-Abed, I. & Hellyer P. (2001). *The United Arab Emirates, A New Perspective*. London: Trident Press.
- Alhebsi, A., Pettaway, L. D. & Waller, L. (2015). A History of Education in the United Arab Emirates and Trucial Kingdoms. *The Global eLearning Journal*, Vol. 4, Issue 1.
- Al-Khatib, M. (2006). Aspects of bilingualism in the Arab world: An introduction, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, Vol. 9, pp. 1–6.
- Al Makahleh, S., Badih, S. & Sabry, S. (2012). “UAE unemployment issue to be tackled”, *Gulf News*, 29 November.
- Al Qasimi, H.H. Sheikh Dr Sultan bin Mohammad (1986). *The Myth of Arab Piracy in the Gulf*. Routledge Library Editions.
- Al Sharhan, A. (2007). *Language in Education in the United Arab Emirates*. Librarie du Liban: Beirut.
- Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Re. edn. Verso, London. Second edn. 1991.
- Andersson, T. & Boyer, M (1970). *Bilingual Schooling in the United States*. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, Austin, Texas.
- Arthur, L. (2010). “Insider-outsider Perspectives in Comparative Education” Seminar presentation at the Research Centre for International and Comparative Studies, Graduate School of Education, University of Bristol.
- Atkinson, P., & Hammersley, M. (1994). Ethnography and participant observation. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook qualitative research* (pp. 248–261). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- August, D. (2002). *Transitional Programs for English Language Learners: Contextual Factors and Effective Programming*. Baltimore MD: Crespar, Johns Hopkins University.
- Azzam, Z. (2013). *In Search of Bilingualism in Dubai’s Private K-12 Education Sector*, EdD Educational Research Assignment, University of Bath.
- Azzam, Z. (2014). *Identity Perception of Students in a Bilingual Private School: a Multiple-Case Study from the Arabian Gulf States*, EdD Language, Culture and Education Assignment, University of Bath.

Azzam, Z. (2016). *In Search of Bilingualism in Dubai's Private K-12 Education Sector: An Exploratory Pilot Study*, EdD Pilot Study Assignment, University of Bath.

Azzam, Z. (2017). *Dubai's Private School Fees Framework: A Critical Discussion*. *Journal of Research in International Education* [2017], Vol. 16(2) 115–130.

Baetens Beardsmore, H. (1986). *Bilingualism: Basic principles*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (1988). *Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.

Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (5<sup>th</sup> ed.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Balbi, G. (1590). *Voyage to the Oriental Indies*, first printed in Italian in 1590 AD.

Bardsley, D. (2009). "State pupils' English skills delay degree programs", *The National*, 3 February.

Bartlett, J.E., Kotrlik, J.W. & Higgins, C.C. (2001). Organizational Research: Determining sample size in survey research. *Information Technology, Learning and Performance Journal*, 19(1), 43–50.

Bashur, M. (2010). "Observations from the edge of the deluge", in Abi-Mershed, O. (ed.) *Trajectories of Education in the Arab World*. Routledge: Oxford.

BBS, The Bahrain Bayan School (2017). <http://www.bayanschool.edu.bh/>

Baetens Beardsmore, H. (1994). "Language Shift and Cultural Implications in Singapore" in S. Gopinathan, Ho Wah Kam, A. Pakir, and V. Saravanan (eds.), *Language, Education and Society in Singapore: Issues and Trends*. Times Academic Press, Singapore, pp. 47–64.

BERA, British Education Research Association (2017). <https://www.bera.ac.uk/>

Bey, F. (1996). *From Trucial States to United Arab Emirates*. Longman; UK (pp. 127–128).

Bialistock, E. (1987). Influences of Bilingualism on Metalinguistic Development. *Second Language Research* 3(2), 154-66.

Bialistock, E. (2004). Language and Literacy Development. In T.K. Bhatia and W.C. Ritchie (eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Blackwell, Malden, MA, pp. 577-601.

Blackledge, A., Creese, A., et al (2008). Contesting 'Language' as 'Heritage': Negotiation of Identity in Late Modernity, *Applied Linguistics*, 29 (4), 533–554.



- Block, D. (2007). *Second Language Identities*. London: Continuum.
- Boas, F. (1940). *Race, language and culture*, 199-239 (Original work published 1917, 'Introduction' to *American linguistics* (vol. 1)), New York, Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge, Polity.
- Boyatzis, R.E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Braxton, R.J. (2011). Managing the unemployment tsunami: Education and workforce development. *The Journal of Human Resource and Adult Learning*, 7(2).
- Brenzinger, M. (1992). *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.
- Breton, A. (1978). *Le Bilinguisme: Une approche economique*. C.D. Howe Institute, Montreal.
- Bryman, A. (1988). *Quantity and quality in social research*. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Bryman, A. (2006). Paradigm peace and the implications for quality. *International Journal of Social research Methodology Theory and Practice*, 9(2), 111–126.
- Canagajarah, A. S. (1999). *Resisting linguistic imperialism in English language teaching*. Routledge: New York.
- Carli A., Guardiano, C., Kauic-Basa, M., Sussi, E., Tessarolo, M. and Ussai, M. (2003). Asserting ethnic identity and power through language, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29(5), 865-883.
- Cavallaro, F. (2005). Language maintenance revisited: An Australian perspective. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 29(3), 561–582 .
- Cazden, C.B., and Snow, C.E. (eds.) (1990). English Plus: Issues in Bilingual Education. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 508. Sage, London.
- Cho, G. (2000). The role of heritage language in social interactions and relationships: Reflections from a language minority group. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 24(4), 369–384.
- Clarke, K. (2017). "Meet the Emirati students who bagged Sheikh Mohammed scholarship", *Khaleej Times*, 20 August.
- Clarke, M. (2007). Language Policy and Language Teacher Education in the United Arab Emirates. *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 41, *Language Policies and TESOL: Perspectives from Practice*, pp. 583-591.
- Cook, T.D. & Campbell, D.T. (1979). *Quasi-experimentation: Design and analysis issues for field settings*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Coulmas, F. (1992). *Language and Economy*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2002). *Educational research: Planning, conducting and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Cumings, B. (1999). Webs with No Spiders, Spiders with No Webs: The Genealogy of the Developmental State, in Meredith Woo-Cumings (ed.) *The Developmental State*. Ithica, N.Y: Cornell University Press.

Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, Power and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cziko, G.A. & Troike, R.C. (1984). Contexts of bilingual education: International perspectives and issues. *ALA Review*, 1., 7–38.

Davison, C. (2008), *Dubai: The Vulnerability of Success*, Columbia University Press, New York, NY.

Dean, J., Furness, P., Verrier, D., Lennon, H. & Bennett, C. (2018). Desert island data: an investigation into researcher positionality. *Qualitative Research*, Vol. 18(3), 273–289.

Denscombe, M. (2010). *The good research guide for small-scale social research projects*. Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill/Open University Press (4th ed.).

Denzin, N. K. (1978). *The research act: A theoretical introduction to sociological method* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Denzin, N. K. (1997). *Interpretive ethnography: Ethnographic practices for the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *Handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dixon, L.Q. (2003). The Bilingual Education Policy in Singapore: Implications for Second Language Acquisition. *Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> International Symposium on Bilingualism*, Tempe, AZ (30 April – 3 May 3).

DNS, Dubai National School (2017). <http://www.dnsalbarsha.com/>

DIS, Dubai International Private School (2017). <http://www.dis.sch.ae/dishomeportal/index.php>

Dubai Government Media Office (2017). <http://www.mediaoffice.ae/en/media-center/news/9/10/2018/mbr-distinguished-students-program.aspx>

Dubai Statistics Centre (2017). <http://dsc.gov.ae/EN/Themes/Pages/Reports.aspx?TopicId=23>

- Edwards, J. R. (1981). The context of bilingual education. *Journal of Multilingualism and Multicultural Development*, 2(1), 25–44.
- Eigner, S. & Sampler, J (2003). *Sand to Silicon, Achieving Rapid Growth Lessons from Dubai*. London: Profile Books.
- Erzberger, C. & Kelle, U. (2003). Making inferences in mixed methods: The rules of integration. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (eds.), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research* (pp. 457–490). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Erzberger, C. & Prein, G. (1997). Triangulation: Validity and empirically based hypothesis construction. *Quality & Quantity*, 2, 141-154.
- Evans, P.B. (1989). Predatory, Developmental and Other Apparatuses: A Comparative Political economy Perspective on the Third World State. *Sociological Forum* 4: 561–87, 581.
- Fasold, R. (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Ferguson, C. (1959). Diglossia, in Paulston, B. & Tucker, G. (eds.), *Sociolinguistics: The Essential Readings*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Fielding, N & Fielding, J. (1986). *Linking data*. London: Sage.
- Findlow, S. (2006). Higher Education and Linguistic Dualism in the Arab Gulf. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27:1, 19–36.
- Finlayson, R., Calteaux, K. & Myers-Scotton, C. (1998). Orderly mixing and accommodation in South African codeswitching, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 2(3).
- Fishman, J.A. (1965). "Who Speaks What Language to Whom and When?" *La Linguistique* 2, 67–88.
- Fishman, J.A. (1972a). *The Sociology of Language*. Rowley MA: Newbury House.
- Fishman, J.A. (1972b). *Language in Sociocultural Change. Essays by Joshua A. Fishman*. Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA.
- Fishman, J.A. (1976). *Bilingual Education: An International Sociological Perspective*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Fishman, J.A. (1980). Bilingualism and biculturalism as individual and societal phenomena. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1, 3–15.
- Fishman, J.A. (1991). *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Flick, U. (1998). *An introduction to qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Forbes (2016). <https://www.forbes.com/sites/niallmccarthy/2017/01/04/bangkok-was-the-worlds-most-visited-city-in-2016-infographic/#4bdd8e232a9c>

- Fox, W. (2008). The United Arab Emirates and policy priorities for higher education in Davidson, C. & Smith, P. (eds.) *Higher Education in the Gulf States: Shaping Economics, Politics and Culture*. SOS: London.
- Freeman, R. (2007). Reviewing the research on language education programs, in Garcia, O. and Baker, C. (eds.), *Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gallagher, K. (2011). Bilingual education in the UAE: factors, variables and critical questions. *Education, Business and Society: Contemporary Middle Eastern Issues, Vol. 4 No. 1*, pp. 62-79. Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Garcia, O. (1995). Spanish language loss as a determinant of income among Latinos in the United States: Implications for a language policy in schools, in J. W. Tollefson (ed.), *Power and Inequality in Language Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garcia, O. (2009). *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century*. Wiley-Blackwell: Oxford.
- Gardner, W. E. (1995). Developing a quality teaching force for the United Arab Emirates: Mission improbable. *Journal of Education and Teaching*, 21(3), 289 -301.
- Genesee, F., Tucker, G.R. & Lambert, W.E. (1975). "Communication Skills in Bilingual Children". *Child Development* 46, 1010-14.
- Genesee, F. (2004). What do we know about bilingual education in majority-language students?, in Bhatia, T. & Ritchie, W. (eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Glasser, S. (2003). "Qatar reshapes its schools, putting English over Islam", *Washington Post*, 2 February.
- Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (3rd ed.). Boston: Pearson.
- Gobert, M. (2009). Key Findings from research and implications for the classroom, in Anderson, D. & McGuire, M. (eds.), *Cultivating Real Readers*. HCT Press: Abu Dhabi.
- Gough S. & Scott W. (2000). Exploring the Purposes of Qualitative Data Coding in Educational Enquiry: Insights from recent research. *Educational Studies*, 26:3, 339–354.
- Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J. & Graham, W.F. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 11, 255-274.
- Grin, F. (2003). Language Planning and Economics. *Current Issues in language Planning* 4(1), 1-66.

Haggard, S. (1990). *Pathway from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 27.

Hall, S. (1996). "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?" In S. Hall and P. du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Polity Press, Cambridge, pp. 273–326.

Hanson, N.R. (1958). *Patterns of discover: An inquiry into the conceptual foundations of science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hawkins, E. (1984). *Awareness of Language: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hawley, D. (1970). *The Trucial States*. Allen & Unwin.

Hayden, M. and Thompson, J. (1998). Changing times: The evolution of the international school. In D. Bingham (ed.) *The John Catt Guide to International Schools*. John Catt Educational Ltd.

Heller, M. (1994). *Crosswords. Language, Education and Ethnicity in French Ontario*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Heller, M. (1999). *Linguistic Minorities and Modernity: A Sociolinguistic Ethnography*. New York: Longman.

Hellyer, P. (1998). *Hidden Riches: An Archaeological Introduction to the United Arab Emirates*. Abu Dhabi.

Hertog, S. (2012). Redesigning the distributional bargain in the GCC (Draft). *British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*. Available at [https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/pdf/10.1142/9789814566209\\_0003](https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/pdf/10.1142/9789814566209_0003).

Hoffman, C. & Ytsma, J. (eds.) (2004). *Trilingualism in Family, School and Community*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Holliday, A. R. (1994). *Appropriate Methodology and Social Context*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holt, M. & Gubbins, P. (eds.) (2002). *Beyond Boundaries. Language and Identity in Contemporary Europe*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Hornberger, N.H. (1989). Continua of biliteracy. *Review of Educational Research*, 59 (3), 271–96.

Hornberger, N.H. (1990). Teacher Quechua use in bilingual and non-bilingual classrooms of Puno, Peru. In R. Jacobson and C. Faltis (eds.) *Language Distribution Issues in Bilingual Schooling*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Hornberger, N.H. (1991). Extending enrichment bilingual education: revisiting typologies and redirecting policy. In O. Garcia (ed.) *Bilingual Education: Focusshrift in Honor of Josua A. Fishman* (Volume 1). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hornberger, N.H. (ed.) (2008). *Enclyopedia of Language and Education*. Springer, Dordecht.

Howe, K.R. (1988). Against the quantitative-qualitative incompatibility thesis or dogmas die hard. *Educational Researcher*, 17, 10–16.

Hvidt, M. (2009). The Dubai Model: An Outline of Key Development-Process Elements in Dubai. *International Journal of Middle-East Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 3 pp. 397–418.

Ianco-Worrall, A. (1972). Bilingualism and Cognitive Development. *Child Development* 43, 1390-400.

IKNS, Ibn Khuldoon National School (2017). [www.ikns.edu.bh](http://www.ikns.edu.bh)

ISC, International School Consultancy (2018). <https://www.iscresearch.com/>

Issa, W. (2013). “Holidays boost to make private sector jobs more appealing to Emiratis”, *The National*, 13 February.

Jones, W.R. (1959). *Bilingualism and Intelligence*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Kabel, A. (2007). The discourses of appropriation: a response to Karmani. *Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 28, pp. 136–42.

Karmani, S. (2005). Petro-Linguistics: The Emerging Nexus between Oil, English, and Islam. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 4:2, 87-102.

Kenaid, K. (2011). In search of good education: Why Emirati Parents Choose Private Schools in Dubai. *KHDA and CfBT Trust*. <http://www.khda.gov.ae/En/Reports/Publications.aspx>

KHDA (2012). Private Schools Landscape in Dubai 2011-12. <http://www.khda.gov.ae/En/Reports/Publications.aspx>

KHDA (2015a). *A Place in the Sun*. <http://www.khda.gov.ae/En/Reports/Publications.aspx>

KHDA (2015b). *Inspecting for school improvement: A collaborative journey, 2008-2015 Key Findings*. <http://www.khda.gov.ae/En/Reports/Publications.aspx>

KHDA (2015c). *Dubai National School – Inspection Report, 2014-15*; pp. 5. [https://www.khda.gov.ae/DISB/AttachmentDownload.aspx?DOC\\_ID=CWxEUtYly8o%3d](https://www.khda.gov.ae/DISB/AttachmentDownload.aspx?DOC_ID=CWxEUtYly8o%3d)

KHDA (2017) website. <http://www.khda.gov.ae/En/>

KHDA (2017b). *Al Mizhar American Academy School – Inspection Report, 2014-15*; pp. 7. [https://www.khda.gov.ae/DISB/AttachmentDownload.aspx?DOC\\_ID=gPm4tUNpmFU%3d](https://www.khda.gov.ae/DISB/AttachmentDownload.aspx?DOC_ID=gPm4tUNpmFU%3d)

KHDA (2017c). *Dubai International Private School – Inspection Report, 2016-17*; pp. 7.  
[https://www.khda.gov.ae/DISB/AttachmentDownload.aspx?DOC\\_ID=IAWYSpLEGpg%3d](https://www.khda.gov.ae/DISB/AttachmentDownload.aspx?DOC_ID=IAWYSpLEGpg%3d)

Kohnert, K.J. & Bates, E. (2002). Balancing bilinguals II: Lexical comprehension and cognitive processing in children learning Spanish and English. *Journal of Speech, Language and Hearing Research*, 45(2), 347–359.

Kovelman, Ioulia, Stephanie A. Baker, and Laura-Ann Petitto, (2008). Bilingual and monolingual brains compared: a functional magnetic resonance imaging investigation of syntactic processing and a possible “neural signature” of bilingualism. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 20(1), 153–169.

Krumm, H.-J., & Jenkins, E.-M. (2001). *Kinder und ihre sprachen – lebendige mehrsprachigkeit: Sprachenportraits* [Children and their language – living multilingualism: Language portraits]. Vienna: Wiener VerlagsWekstatt fur Interkulturelles Lernen und Deutsch als Fremdsprache.

Kuckartz, U. (2014). *Qualitative text analysis: A guide to methods, practice and using software* (1st ed.). Germany: Phillips-Universitat Marburg.

Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kuhn, T. S. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions* (2nd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kuhn, T. S. (1996). *The structure of scientific revolutions* (3rd ed.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kuznets, S. (1973). Modern Economic Growth: Findings and Reflections. *The American Economic Review* 63, 247–58, 248ff.

Lambert, W. E. (1974). Culture and language as factors in learning and education, in F.E. Aboud and R.D. Meade (eds.), *Cultural Factors in Learning and Education*. Bellingham, WA: 5th Eastern Washington Symposium on Learning.

Lambert, W. E. & Tucker, G.R. (1972). *Bilingual Education of Children: The St. Lambert Experiment*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Lauridsen, L. S. (1995). “The Developmental State and the Asian Miracles: An Introduction to the Debate,” in Laurids S. Lauridsen (ed.) *Institutions and Industrial Development: Asian Experiences*, (Roskilde, Denmark: IDS Roskilde University, 1995): 24–40.

Leopold, W.F. (1961). “Patterning in Children’s Language Learning.” In S Sapporta (ed.), *Psycholinguistics*. Holt, Reinhart and Winston, New York.

- Liebkind, K. (1999). "Social Psychology." In J.A. Fishman (ed.) *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*. Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 140–51.
- Lightbown, P. and Spada, N. (2006). *How Languages Are Learned*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Lin, A. & Man, E. (2009). *Bilingual Education*. Hong Kong University Press: Hong Kong.
- Lincoln, Y. S. & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Enquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage
- Linton, A. (2003). Is Spanish Here to Stay? Contexts for Bilingualism among U.S.-born Hispanics. *Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies Summer Institute, University of California – San Diego*.
- Looney, R. (2003). Thaksinomics: A New Asian Paradigm? *Strategic Insights*. Monterey, Calif.: Center for Contemporary Conflict).
- Maamouri, M. (1998). Language education and human development: Arabic diglossia and its impact on the quality of education in the Arab region. *Proceedings of the Mediterranean Development Forum, Rabat, Morocco*.
- Mackey, W.F. (1972). A typology of bilingual education. In J. Fishman (ed.), *Advances in sociology of language, volume 2*. (pp. 413–432). Paris: Mouton.
- Martin, B. (2012). Identity perception of children in bilingual programmes. *Language Awareness*, 21:1–2, 105–23.
- Martin-Jones, M & Saxena, M. (1996). Turn-taking, power asymmetries and the positioning of bilingual participants in classroom discourse. *Linguistics and Education*, 8(1), 105–23.
- McKinley, J. & Rose, H. (2017). *Doing research in applied linguistics. Realities, dilemmas, and solutions* (1st ed.). Routledge: London.
- Mehmedbegovic, D. (2017). Engaging with Linguistic Diversity in Global Cities: Arguing for 'Language Hierarchy Free' Policy and Practice in Education. *Open Linguistics* 2017; 3: 540–553.
- Mejia, A-M. (2002). *Power, Prestige and Bilingualism. International Perspectives on Elite Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Mercer (2016). <https://www.mercer.com/newsroom/2016-quality-of-living-survey.html>
- Mertens, D.M. (2003). Mixed models and the politics of human research: The transformative-emancipatory perspective. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (eds.), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research* (pp. 135–166). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.



- Merton, R. (1972). Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(1), 9–47.
- Millar, D. (2015). *Beyond Dubai, Seeking Lost Cities in the Emirates*. Melting Tundra Publishing.
- Milligan, L. (2016). Insider-Outsider-inbetween? Researcher positioning, participative methods and cross-cultural educational research. *Compare*, vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 235–250.
- MOE, UAE Ministry of Education (2017). <https://www.moe.gov.ae/En/Pages/Home.aspx>
- National Archives (2017). <https://www.na.ae/en/archives/historicalperiods/union.aspx>
- Oller, D. K. & Eilers, R. E. (2002). *Language and Literacy in Bilingual Children*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Oksaar, E. (1989). Psycholinguistics Aspects of Bilingualism. *Journal of Multilingualism and Multicultural Development* 10(1), 33–46 .
- Ovando, C.J. & Collier, V.P. (1987). *Bilingual and ESL Classrooms: Teaching in Multicultural Contexts*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Paulston, C.B. (1980). *Bilingual education: Theories and issues*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Peal, E. & Lambert, W.E. (1962). The relationship of bilingualism to intelligence. *Psychological Monographs* 76 (27), 1-23.
- Peck, M. C. (1986). *The United Arab Emirates. A Venture in Unity*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Pennycook, A. (1998). *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. Routledge: London.
- Pennycook, A. (2002). Language policy and docile bodies: Hong Kong and governmentality, in J.W. Tollefson (ed.), *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues*. Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, pp. 91–110.
- Pennycook, A. (2003). “Global Englishes, Rip Slyme, and Performativity.” *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(4), 513–33.
- Phillips, D.C. (1987). *Philosophy, science and social inquiry: Contemporary methodological controversies in social science and related fields of research*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon Press.

- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Pinter, R. & Arsenian, S. (1937). The relation of bilingualism to verbal intelligence and school adjustment. *Journal of Educational Research* 31, 255-263.
- Punch, K. F. (1998). *Introduction to social research: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ramos, S. J. (2010). *Dubai Amplified, the Engineering of a Port Geography*. Routledge: New York.
- Reichart, C.S. & Rallis, S.F. (1994). Qualitative and quantitative inquiries are not incompatible: A call for a new partnership. In Reichart, C.S. & Rallis, S.F. (ed.), *The qualitative-quantitative debate: New perspectives* (pp. 85–92). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Reyes, S., & Vallone, T. (2007). Toward an expanded understanding of two-way bilingual immersion education: Constructing identity through a critical, additive bilingual/bicultural pedagogy. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 9(3), 3-11.
- Ricciardelli, L.A. (1992). Creativity and Bilingualism. *Journal of Creative Behavior* 26(4), 242-54.
- Ridge, N. (2010). Teacher quality, gender and nationality in the United Arab Emirates: A crisis for boys (Working Paper No. 10-06). *Dubai School of Government*. Available at [www.dsg.ae/en/Publication/Pdf\\_En/Working%20Paper%2010-06%English.pdf](http://www.dsg.ae/en/Publication/Pdf_En/Working%20Paper%2010-06%English.pdf).
- Ridge, N. (2014). *Education and the reverse gender divide in the Gulf States: Embracing the global, ignoring the local*. Teachers College Press: New York.
- Randeree, K. (2012). Workforce nationalization in the Gulf Cooperation Council states (Occasional Paper No. 9). *Center for International and Regional Studies, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Qatar*. Available at [www12.georgetown.edu/sfs/qatar/cirs/KasimRedereeCIRSOccasionalPaper9.pdf](http://www12.georgetown.edu/sfs/qatar/cirs/KasimRedereeCIRSOccasionalPaper9.pdf)
- Rosenhouse, J & Goral, M. (2004). Bilingualism in the Middle East and North Africa: a focus on the Arab-speaking world, in Bhatia, T. & Ritchie, W. (eds.), *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Rossmann, G. B. & Wilson, B.L. (1985). Numbers and words: Combining quantitative and qualitative methods in a single large scale evaluation study. *Evaluation Review*, 9, 627-643.
- Sabry, S. & Zaman, S. (2013). "Emirati unemployment at 14%", *Gulf News*, 9 January.
- Saer, D.J. (1923). The effects of bilingualism on intelligence. *British Journal of Psychology*, 14, 25-38.
- Saer, D.J., Smith, F., and Hughes, J. (1924). *The Bilingual Problem*. Hughes and Son, Wrexham.
- Sapir, E. (1949). *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality* (D.G. Mandelbaum, Ed.), Berkeley, University of California Press.

Sayed, F. (2010). The contested terrain of educational reform in Egypt, in Mazawi, A. and Sultana, E. (eds.), *Education and the Arab World: Political Projects, Struggles and Geometries of Power*. Routledge: New York.

Schermerhorn, R. A. (1970). *Comparative Ethnic Relations*. New York: Random House.

Schwandt, T. (1997). *Qualitative inquiry: A dictionary of terms*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

SISS, Swiss International Scientific School (2017). <http://sisd.ae/>

So, D. (2002). Whither bilingual education in Hong Kong: Views of the Stakeholders on the Way Forward, 1974–1999. In D.S and G. Jones (eds.) *Education and Society in Plurilingual Contexts*. Brussels, Brussels University Press.

Stables, A. (2003). Learning, identity and classroom dialogue. *Journal of Educational Enquiry*, 4(1), 1–18.

Tashakkori, A. & Cresswell, J.W. (2007). The new era of mixed methods. *Journal of mixed methods research*, 1, 3–7.

Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed methodology: Combining the qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. (2003a). *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. (2003b). Major issues and controversies in the use of mixed methods in the social and behavioural sciences. *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Tashakkori, A. & Teddlie, C. (2009). *Foundations of Mixed Methods Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Thibaut, K. & Kelly, H.H. (1959). *The social psychology of groups*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Tolkien, J.R.R (1937). *The Hobbit*. London: Unwin & Sons.

Tsui, A.B.M. (2004). Medium of Instruction in Hong Kong: One Country, Two Systems, Whose Language?, in A.B.M. Tsui and J.W. Tollefson (eds.), *Medium of Instruction Policies. Which Agenda? Whose Agenda?* Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, pp. 97–116.

Tsui, A.B.M. (2007). Language policy and the social construction of identity: The case of Hong Kong, in A.B.M. Tsui and J.W. Tollefson (eds.), *Language Policy, Culture and Identity in Asian Contexts*. Lawrence Erlbaum, Mahwah, NJ, pp. 121–42.

Tyler, E.B. (1951). *Primitive culture*. London: John Murray (original work published 1871).

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Wade, R. & White G. (1988). Developmental States in East Asia. *Palgrave MacMillan*, pp. 1–24.

Whorf, B. L. (1956). *Language, thought and reality: selected writings of B. L. Whorf* (edited and with an introduction by John B. Carroll). New York, John Wiley & sons.

Williams, G. (1992). *Sociolinguistics: A Sociological Critique*. Routledge: London.

Woolard, K.A. & Schieffelin, B.B. (1994). Language Ideology. *Annual Review of Anthrpology*, 23, pp. 55–82.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: 'Background Survey' Used in the 2016 Pilot Study

#### SECTION 1

Student name: \_\_\_\_\_ Date of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_ Gender: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Country of birth of father: \_\_\_\_\_ Country of birth of mother: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name of school: \_\_\_\_\_ Current Grade: \_\_\_\_\_  
 How many years have you been a student at your current school? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Please name the last two schools you have attended and the countries they are in?  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

#### SECTION 2

Father's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_ Mother's occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Highest degree/qualification held by father: \_\_\_\_\_ Highest degree/qualification held by mother: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Country where father earned highest degree: \_\_\_\_\_ Country where mother earned highest degree: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Countries you have visited (alone with your family) during the past 5 years and reasons for these visits:  
 (1) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (3) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (4) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (5) \_\_\_\_\_

Estimated monthly household income (*please circle the appropriate answer*):

Under AED 25,000      Between AED 25,000 and AED 49,999      Between AED 50,000 and AED 99,999      Above AED 100,000

#### SECTION 3

1. In which language do you speak to the following people? (*please choose one answer*)

	Almost always in Arabic	In Arabic more often than English	In Arabic and English about equally	In English more often than Arabic	Almost always in English	Not applicable
Father	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mother	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Brothers/Sisters	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Grandparents	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other relatives	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Maids/Household help	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School friends in the classroom	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
School friends in the playground	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Friends outside school	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Teachers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

If you have found it difficult to make a selection for one or more of the categories listed in question 1 above, please use the space below to elaborate:

---



---



---



---

**2. Which language do you use with the following?** (please choose one answer)

	Almost always in Arabic	In Arabic more often than English	In Arabic and English about equally	In English more often than Arabic	Almost always in English	Not applicable
Speaking on the telephone	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Text messaging	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Computer/internet	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Watching TV/DVD	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening to radio/music	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading newspapers/comics/magazines	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading books	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Shopping	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Playing sports	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Eating out	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

If you have found it difficult to make a selection for one or more of the categories listed in question 2 above, please use the space below to elaborate:

---



---



---



---

**3. Do you speak any languages other than Arabic or English at home?** (please circle Yes or No)

**Yes      No**

If yes, please list them here: \_\_\_\_\_

**4. Which language or languages are your favourite?** \_\_\_\_\_

Why?

---



---

## Appendix 2: 'Background Survey' Used in the Current Enquiry

### SECTION 1 – Biographical Data

1. What is your age?
  - ☐ 15 - 16 years
  - ☐ 15 - 16 years
  - ☐ 15 - 16 years
  - ☐ Other (please specify)

---
2. What is your gender?
  - ☐ Male
  - ☐ Female
3. What is your mother's country of birth?
  - ☐ UAE
  - ☐ Another Arab country
  - ☐ Non-Arab country
4. What is your father's country of birth?
  - ☐ UAE
  - ☐ Another Arab country
  - ☐ Non-Arab country
5. What school do you currently attend?

---
6. What grade are you in?
  - ☐ Grade 10 (equivalent to Year 11 in the UK system)
  - ☐ Grade 11 (equivalent to Year 12 in the UK system)
  - ☐ Grade 12 (equivalent to Year 13 in the UK system)
  - ☐ Other (please specify)

---
7. What curriculum is taught at your current school?
  - ☐ American (US)
  - ☐ International Baccalaureate (IB)
  - ☐ British (UK)
  - ☐ Other (please specify)

---
8. How many years have you been a student at your current school?
  - ☐ Less than three (3) years
  - ☐ Between three (3) and five (5) years
  - ☐ More than five (5) years

## SECTION 2 – Language Background Scale

9. In which language do you speak to your **father**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
10. In which language do you speak to your **mother**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
11. In which language do you speak to your **siblings**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
12. In which language do you speak to your **grandparents**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
13. In which language do you speak to your **aunts & uncles**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
14. In which language do you speak to your **cousins**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
15. In which language do you speak to your **maids/household help**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
16. In which language do you speak to your **school friends in the classroom**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
17. In which language do you speak to your **school friends on the playground**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
18. In which language do you speak to your **friends outside school**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
19. In which language do you speak to your **teachers**?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable



20. Which language do you use when speaking on the phone?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
21. Which language do you use when communicating through social media?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
22. Which language do you use when surfing the internet?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
23. Which language do you use when watching TV, movies, or videos?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
24. Which language do you use when listening to the radio or to music?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
25. Which language do you use when reading newspapers, magazines or comics?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
26. Which language do you use when reading books?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
27. Which language do you use when shopping?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
28. Which language do you use when playing sports?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
29. Which language do you use when eating out?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable
30. Which language do you use when you dream in your sleep?
- ☐ Almost always in Arabic
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ In Arabic and English about equally
  - ☐ In Arabic more often than English
  - ☐ Almost always in English
  - ☐ Not applicable

### SECTION 3 – Attitudes Towards Language

31. I believe that most Emiratis view English as the language of business, modernity and internationalism, and give it *superior* status to Arabic.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
32. Arabic is as vital as English for my continued education and career aspirations.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
33. I am equally comfortable expressing myself in Arabic as I am in English.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
34. At my current school, Arabic is given equal weighting and importance as English.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
35. I think schools have an important role to play in redressing the existing imbalance between Arabic and English.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
36. As an Emirati, I am concerned over the predominance of English over Arabic and worry that one day either my own generation or future generations might lose touch with Arabic altogether.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
37. With so many nationalities represented in Dubai, it makes sense that English has become the common language we use to communicate with each other.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
38. I believe that most Emiratis view Arabic as the language of religion, tradition and localism, and give it *inferior* status to English.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

## Appendix 3: Sections 4 and 5 of the 'Final Survey'

### SECTION 4 – The Bilingual Model (Singular Statements)

39. A school that delivers an international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model has many challenges.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
40. The new generation of Emirati students struggles with finding common ground with the Arabic spoken by their parents and elders.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
41. Insistence on teaching classical Arabic in schools exclusively dismisses the rich culture and pride behind the Emirati dialect.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
42. The bilingual model should be limited to the primary and middle years, and should be discontinued in secondary school.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
43. Younger students are more capable of processing and absorbing information, and are able to easily flip between languages.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
44. Different approaches to bilingual education should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |
45. An effective Arabic-English bilingual model must feature team teaching; in other words, two homeroom instructors in every classroom, one who is a native speaker of Arabic, and the other a native speaker of English.
- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

46. An effective Arabic-English bilingual model must ensure that the mission statements of schools include the goal of equal status between English and Arabic.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
47. An Arabic-English bilingual programme would either have to offer an equal number of Arabic and English native speaking staff, or otherwise all staff members would have to be bilingual.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
48. For an Arabic-English bilingual programme to achieve its goals, the subjects taught must be divided equally between the two languages.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
49. For it to be effective, the Arabic-English bilingual model must be relevant to all nationalities.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
50. To promote the idea of an Arabic-English core education for Emirati students, we must bring into play the use of Arabic in everyday tasks not only at home, but in school as well.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
51. If bilingual education is to take root in Dubai, it is important that the government with other stakeholders takes the initiative to educate the public on the benefits of this model, especially if implemented within international programmes.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
52. The cost of running a bilingual education model is high.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
53. The challenge for bilingual education is that it is difficult to make time to study and learn in both languages.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know

54. The difficulty in bilingual education is that most teachers are educated as monolinguals; finding, training and retaining them can be a challenge.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

55. Emirati students who attend public schools are relatively more proficient in both formal and informal Arabic, as their environment allows them to apply the language more often.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

56. Schools should be offering classes such as Emirati Studies (in place of classical Arabic) in which Emirati instructors teach students their rich dialect and cultural heritage.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

## SECTION 5 – The Bilingual Model (Couplets)

57. Arabic and English are used equally in Dubai's private schools.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

58. Private schools in Dubai do **not** treat Arabic and English on an equal footing.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

59. The predominant language used in the UAE job market today and in the future is Arabic.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

60. The globalization of Dubai has resulted in a shift in which English has become the more prominent language, given the high percentage of expatriates.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

61. As an Emirati working in the UAE, Arabic is a necessity in order to communicate effectively, or at least correctly.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

62. When it comes to business and matters of trade, the English language tends to be the most common currency.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

63. Emiratis must be able to balance the two languages (Arabic and English) without allowing one to override the other.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

64. Emirati students who attend private schools do **not** really desire an Arabic-English bilingual education.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

65. If an Arabic-English bilingual model were to be applied to all schools for Arab and non-Arab students, everyone will welcome it.
- ☐ Strongly Agree
  - ☐ Somewhat Agree
  - ☐ Do Not Know
  - ☐ Somewhat Disagree
  - ☐ Strongly Disagree
66. Many private schools are made up of a huge number of international students; English is the only language most of these students can understand and be taught in.
- ☐ Strongly Agree
  - ☐ Somewhat Agree
  - ☐ Do Not Know
  - ☐ Somewhat Disagree
  - ☐ Strongly Disagree
67. The majority of schools in Dubai are, in fact, bilingual.
- ☐ Strongly Agree
  - ☐ Somewhat Agree
  - ☐ Do Not Know
  - ☐ Somewhat Disagree
  - ☐ Strongly Disagree
68. Although several models of bilingual education exist in the world, not many schools in the UAE follow them.
- ☐ Strongly Agree
  - ☐ Somewhat Agree
  - ☐ Do Not Know
  - ☐ Somewhat Disagree
  - ☐ Strongly Disagree
69. In Dubai, there is a high demand in the market for Arabic-English bilingual schools.
- ☐ Strongly Agree
  - ☐ Somewhat Agree
  - ☐ Do Not Know
  - ☐ Somewhat Disagree
  - ☐ Strongly Disagree
70. Many people disagree with the idea of a bilingual speaking school.
- ☐ Strongly Agree
  - ☐ Somewhat Agree
  - ☐ Do Not Know
  - ☐ Somewhat Disagree
  - ☐ Strongly Disagree
71. From the perspective of an Emirati parent, I wouldn't be sacrificing anything if I were to choose a bilingual model over an English-medium model for my child.
- ☐ Strongly Agree
  - ☐ Somewhat Agree
  - ☐ Do Not Know
  - ☐ Somewhat Disagree
  - ☐ Strongly Disagree
72. By choosing to enroll my child in a bilingual school I would be sacrificing his/her future.
- ☐ Strongly Agree
  - ☐ Somewhat Agree
  - ☐ Do Not Know
  - ☐ Somewhat Disagree
  - ☐ Strongly Disagree

73. Being bilingual makes you smarter, gives you cross-cultural access, and future employment advantages.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
74. Having two main languages being taught and spoken would cause dispersion of student thinking.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
75. Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for closing the gap between language learners and native speakers.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
76. In many bilingual schools there is a dominant language, then a second language.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
77. Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for producing learners with higher long-term academic outcomes than those educated in a monolingual setting.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
78. A bilingual programme can result in an adverse effect on the overall academic development of the learner.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
79. Bilingual education allows parents to provide their children with the opportunity to reach their goals and to excel in their future and in their careers.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know
80. It would be overwhelming for learners to cope in a bilingual setting, and in the end their procrastination would take over and cause them to fail.
- ☐ Strongly Agree                      ☐ Somewhat Disagree  
☐ Somewhat Agree                      ☐ Strongly Disagree  
☐ Do Not Know



81. The bilingual model plays an important role in the learning and teaching process.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

82. The bilingual model will **not** be very successful in Dubai, nor will it be very effective.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

83. For us Emiratis, classical Arabic should be a paramount part of our daily lives, and not be seen as a required course taken only in school.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

84. Arabic classes do not pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; classical Arabic should not be taught after middle school.

- |                                      |   |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="radio"/> Strongly Agree | <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Somewhat Agree | <input type="radio"/> Strongly Disagree |
| <input type="radio"/> Do Not Know    |   |

## **Appendix 4: Guiding Questions for Essay Composition**

### **Role-play Assigned: Student**

1. Do you think Emirati students who choose to attend private schools really want an Arabic-English bilingual education?
2. Is there a bilingual model that all Emirati students can agree on, and if so, what would it look like?
3. Do you think students of other nationalities, both Arab and non-Arab, would find such a model relevant? How do you think they would react if such a model were to be imposed on them?

### **Role-play Assigned: Parent**

1. Do you think the level of Arabic taught in private schools matches that of English, and if not why do you think that is?
2. Would you prefer to enrol your child in a school that offers an Arabic-English bilingual programme over an English medium school, and if so what would that programme look like?
3. What would you be sacrificing in choosing a bilingual model over an English medium model?
4. What, in your opinion as an Emirati parent, would it take for an Arabic-English bilingual model to succeed in Dubai's private education sector?

### **Role-play Assigned: School Leader**

1. Do you believe that private schools in Dubai treat Arabic and English on an equal footing?
2. What are the challenges in delivering an international curriculum, such as the International Baccalaureate programmes or the National Curriculum for England, within the confines of a bilingual model?
3. If you had free hand in designing a workable Arabic-English bilingual programme, what would it look like?

### **Role-play Assigned: Regulator**

1. How would you create consensus among the stakeholders around a 'workable' bilingual model?
2. Once a model is agreed, would you choose to impose it through regulation, or would you allow the market to lead its development? Please explain.

### **Role-play Assigned: School Owner**

1. Do you think that there is demand in the market for an Arabic-English bilingual school, and if so why do you think this model is not on offer today?
2. What are the obstacles standing in the way of the development of an Arabic-English bilingual school, and what do you think needs to happen for these obstacles to be overcome?

## Appendix 5: Parent Information Letter and Consent Form

Dear Parent,

I trust this finds you well.

My name is Ziad Azzam, a Lebanese national residing in Dubai. I have a Masters degree in theoretical physics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and I am currently a candidate for a Doctorate in Education (EdD) from the University of Bath in the United Kingdom. My area of interest is bilingual education.

As part of my degree qualification, I have designed an exploratory study that investigates the type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model that would suit the needs of Emirati families and the circumstances by which it could take root. I have written to Principal [ - ] requesting that [ - ] should serve as one of the settings for my study, and he/she has generously consented.

I hope the findings of my study will prove useful to your child's school, by offering members of the [ - ] community a voice in constructing, albeit theoretically at this early stage, a framework upon which a possible Arabic-English bilingual model may emerge that will suit Dubai's ethnically diverse population. From a broader perspective, the outcomes of the study will have the potential to expand our understanding of dual-language bilingual educational models and language awareness for children in similar settings. I intend to use the current investigation as a trial for my EdD thesis. Finally, I hope that my study will expose participating students to how doctorate level research is conducted, and thus inspire them in their endeavours to further their own education.

You can help by consenting to have your child take part in the three activities that I have planned for the study participants, which are: (1) a 90-minute group-based brainstorming session involving role-play (at the start of this session all participants will be asked to complete a survey which aims to map their linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds), followed a fortnight later by, (2) presentations by each student of her short treatise on the topic. At the end of the second session, students will submit a 700 to 800-word essay. The third and final session will take place a few months later, when each participant in the study will be asked to complete a multiple-choice questionnaire composed of statements extracted from analysis of these essays. In total, the student sample will comprise ten participants, divided into two groups of five. The only requirements for participation is that each student should be between the age of 15 to 18, have been enrolled at [ - ] continuously for at least 3 years and that one or both of her parents are Emirati.

None of the activities mentioned above will be recorded. Participation in this study is voluntary. You or your child may withdraw your consent at any time during or after the sessions, at which point all data collected up to that point will be destroyed. No names or other data that may identify your child will be used in any publication or documentation arising from this study. The essays collected from the participants will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in my office, which only I can access. These essays will form part of my report and therefore will be accessible to my tutor, a second examiner (who is also a member of the faculty at the University of Bath) and the department administrator. No other individual will have access to the report. Just to re-assure you, the questionnaires completed by the participants and the essays collected from them will contain no names, nor any other information that may identify the individuals.

If your child is willing to take part in this study, and if you wish to consent to her doing so, please complete the statement below and sign your name. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me on [REDACTED]

\* \* \*

I \_\_\_\_\_ parent/legal guardian of \_\_\_\_\_ affirm that I have read and understood the information provided above and hereby consent to my child's participation in this study.

\_\_\_\_\_ (parent's/legal guardian's signature)

## **Appendix 6: Profiling Al Mizhar American Academy School, Dubai International Private School and Jumeira Baccalaureate School**

### **Al Mizhar American Academy School (AAM)**

AAM was established in 2005 as an all-girls school with the aim of providing a nurturing and rigorous education for girls aged 3 to 18 years (AAM, 2017). The school literature stresses three areas: (1) the value of following the US common core curriculum (“AAM offers students the same elite education that is offered at top American private schools and prepares its students for a multitude of universities worldwide”), (2) the advantages of an all-girls environment (“Girls’ schools teach girls that there is enormous potential and power in being a girl”) and (3) the role of the Arabic language (“We believe that development of the Arabic Language is crucial for both cognitive development and maintaining cultural identity”). In 2016-17 AAM had 601 students on roll, and 50 teachers, the majority of whom were American. The school charges tuition fees that start at 41,322 UAE dirhams (or equivalently 11,230 US dollars) in kindergarten, and end at 64,414 UAE dirhams (17,500 US dollars) in Grade 12. Despite priding itself on the personal development of its pupils, and its connection with Arab culture, the KHDA highlighted these two areas as requiring further development in its 2016 inspection of AAM. The two recommendations were:

- Improve students' attainment and progress in Arabic as a first language in the middle and high school by ensuring all lessons have an appropriate emphasis on the development of all language domains, particularly students' speaking and writing skills;
- Ensure that in developing students' personal and social skills, attention is given to the value of diversity and the appreciation of cultural differences (KHDA, 2017b; pp. 7).

AAM's overall inspections rating as conducted by the KHDA has been 'Good' for the past nine years.

### **Dubai International School (DIS)**

DIS in Garhoud (the original branch) was established in 1985. The founders see DIS as “a school of national identity set in an international frame” (DIS, 2017). The school sets itself the educational objective of developing “students who adhere to Islamic and Arabic values and traditions” while at the same time providing them with an education “that prepares them to cope with the challenges of a rapid changing future”. In 2016-2017 DIS's enrollment stood at 2,392 students, 962 of whom were Emirati. It employed 141 teachers, with the largest nationality group being Arab. DIS's school fees range from 13,633 UAE dirhams (or 3,700 US dollars) in kindergarten to 21,403 UAE dirhams (or 5,815 US dollars) in Grade 12, representing roughly one-third what AAM charges. The KHDA classifies DIS as a dual-curriculum school, offering both the US and UAEMoE curricula (KHDA, 2017). What this translates to in effect is that Grade 10 students are allowed to choose between continuing with world history, or, otherwise, replacing that subject with UAE social studies. Those who choose to do so forfeit the right to receive a full US-accredited high school diploma, since world history is required by the US California standards that DIS follows. The school's emphasis on imparting Islamic and Arabic social values onto its students earned it a commendation by the KHDA during the last cycle of inspections. Under the section

entitled '*What the school does best*', the KHDA report includes: "The personal and social development of students, which is outstanding in the kindergarten and very good in the other phases" (KHDA, 2017c; pp. 7). However, this did not translate into high ratings in 'Attainment' nor 'Progress' in the subjects of Islamic studies, Arabic as a first language and Arabic as a second language, all of which varied between 'Good' and 'Acceptable' across the four sections of the school: kindergarten, elementary, middle and high school. DIS received accreditation by AdvancED in 2012. It has been rated 'Acceptable', overall, by the KHDA for the past nine years.

### **Jumeira Baccalaureate School (JBS)**

JBS is, chronologically, the eighth school launched by the Taaleem group. The school was established in 2010 and offers all three International Baccalaureate programmes: the Primary Years Programme (PYP), Middle Years Programme (MYP) and Diploma Programme (DP). During the academic year 2017-18, JBS had 791 students on roll. The school charges tuition fees that range from 58,152 UAE dirhams (or equivalently 15,800 US dollars) in pre-kindergarten to 87,228 UAE dirhams (23,700 US dollars) at the top end of the school. Despite the fact that UAE nationals are the highest represented nationality at JBS, accounting for nearly a third of the student population, nothing in school's literature suggests that Arabic, Islamic Studies or Social Studies enjoy some form of elevated status among the subjects taught, nor does the label 'bilingual' feature in any of the stated goals or educational outcomes professed by the school. In fact, one of the two recommendations listed in the JBS's 2017-18 inspection report is the need to improve the rate of progress in Islamic education, especially in the MYP (KHDA, 2017).

## Appendix 7: Phase 1 Participant Information Sheet

### In Search of Bilingual Education in Dubai's Private K-12 Education Sector *Participant Information Sheet*

#### **Aim of the study:**

To establish the type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model that would suit the needs of Emirati families and to explore the circumstances by which it can take root in Dubai's private K-12 sector.

#### **Principal research question:**

What type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model could be developed and implemented in Dubai's private K-12 sector?

#### **Theory primer:**

##### *Defining bilingual education*

Bilingual education is an ambiguous concept, as the term tends to be commonly applied to classrooms in which instruction is structured around the fostering of bilingualism, and contrastingly, to classrooms where bilingual students are present but where bilingualism is not a defined goal Baker (2011). The term can also be confused with language teaching programmes.

In this study I will be adopting the following definition of bilingual education offered by Garcia (2008; p.8):

"...any instance in which children's and teachers' communicative practices in school *normally include the use of multiple multilingual practices that maximize learning efficiency and communication; and that, in so doing, foster and develop tolerance towards linguistic differences, as well as appreciation of languages and bilingual proficiency*"

##### *Typology of bilingual education*

Baker (2011) introduces 10 types of bilingual education, which he categorises under three forms: **monolingual**, **weak** and **strong**.

- The three types that fall under the monolingual form (*mainstreaming with structured immersion*, *mainstreaming with withdrawal classes*, and *segregationist*) all adopt a philosophy of assimilation.
- The three weak types (*transitional*, *mainstream with foreign language teaching* and *separatist*) aim to produce relatively monolingual students, with, at best, limited enrichment of the minority/foreign language.
- All four types considered by Baker as strong (*immersion*, *maintenance*, *dual language* and *mainstream bilingual*) aim at bilingualism and biliteracy. Whereas the first two strong types exhibit a hierarchical relationship between two languages the latter two position two languages on an equal footing.

##### *Benefits of bilingual education*

There is a huge body of research which points to the **cognitive** as well as the **social** advantages of bilingualism (Garcia, 2009).

- The cognitive advantages of bilingual education include *metalinguistic awareness* (Leopold, 1961; Ianco-Worrall, 1972; Bialystok, 1987 & 2004; Baker, 2011), *divergent thinking* (Baker, 1988; Ricciardelli, 1992), *communicative sensitivity* (Genesee, Tucker and Lambert, 1975) and the *ability to learn multiple languages* (Hawkins, 1986; Hoffman and Ytsma, 2004)
- The social advantages of bilingualism include *socioeconomic benefits* (Breton, 1978; Grin, 2003; Linton, 2003), *global interactions*, *local interactions*, *potentializing "acts of identities"* (Wenger, 1998; Pennycook, 1998) and *cultural awareness and construction* (Oksaar, 1989).

### Participant activities:

Prior to the first session, each participant will be asked to complete an online survey. (~15 minutes)

#### Session 1:

- The cohort will be split into groups of 5 participants. The study participants will then debate issues related to the two principal research questions. Each group member will take on one of five roles: (1) student, (2) parent, (3) school leader, (4) policy maker in government, or (5) school owner/operator. (~45 minutes)

#### Session 2 (a week later):

- Participants will present their views through a 700-800 word essay and receive feedback from their peers. At the end of the session, participants may submit their essays there and then, or choose to take a few more days to refine their compositions before submitting their final essays. (~45 minutes)

Eight to twelve weeks later, an online questionnaire composed of tension statements generated through coding the essays into loose networks will be put to the study participants, who will be asked to respond using a 5-point scale: "1. Strongly Agree", "2. Somewhat Agree", "3. Do not know", "4. Somewhat Disagree" or "5. Strongly Disagree". (~30 minutes)

\* \* \*

Email address: [REDACTED]

### References:

- Baker, C. (1988). *Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Baker, C. (2011). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (5<sup>th</sup> ed.). Multilingual Matters, (pp. 207-251).
- Bialstock, E. (1987). "Influences of Bilingualism on Metalinguistic Development". *Second Language Research* 3(2), 154-66.
- Bialstock, E. (2004). "language and Literacy Development". In T.K. Bhatia and W.C. Ritchie (eds.). *The Handbook of Bilingualism*. Blackwell, Malden, MA, pp. 577-601.
- Breton, A. (1978). *Le Bilinguisme: Une approche economique*. C.D. Howe Institute, Montreal.
- Garcia, O. (2009). *Bilingual Education in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Wiley-Blackwell, (pp. 5-17, 93-101).
- Genesee, F., Tucker, G.R., and Lambert, W.E. (1975). "Communication Skills in Bilingual Children". *Child Development* 46, 1010-14.
- Grin, F. (2003). "Language Planning and Economics". *Current Issues in language Planning* 4(1), 1-66.
- Hawkins, E. (1984). *Awareness of Language: An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hoffman, C., and Ytsma, J. (eds.) (2004). *Trilingualism in Family, School and Community*. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.
- Ianco-Worrall, A. (1972). "Bilingualism and Cognitive Development". *Child Development* 43, 1390-400.
- Leopold, W.F. (1961). "Patterning in Children's Language Learning." In S Sapporta (ed.). *Psycholinguistics*. Holt, Reinhart and Winston, New York.
- Linton, A. (2003). *Is Spanish Here to Stay? Contexts for Bilingualism among U.S.-born Hispanics*. Centre for Comparative Immigration Studies Summer Institute, University of California – San Diego.
- Pennycook, A. (1998). *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. Routledge, London.
- Oksaar, E. (1989). "Psycholinguistics Aspects of Bilingualism". *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 10(1), 33-46.
- Ricciardelli, L.A. (1992). "Creativity and Bilingualism". *Journal of Creative Behavior* 26(4), 242-54.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

## Appendix 8: Sample Reference Letter Provided to Phase 1 Participants

### TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Re: Participation of [---] in a Doctorate Research Project

My name is Ziad Azzam, a Lebanese national residing in Dubai. I have a Masters degree in theoretical physics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), and I am currently a candidate for a Doctorate in Education (EdD) at the University of Bath in the United Kingdom. My area of interest is bilingual education.

During the period November 2017 until March 2018, I conducted the data collection phase of my dissertation, entitled: “In Search of Bilingual Education in Dubai’s Private K-12 Education Sector”. The exercise took place at the **[Jumeira Baccalaureate School / Al Mizhar American Academy School]** with **[four / eight]** student participants, one of whom was [---]. As a participant, [---] took part in a group information and discussion session, completed an online questionnaire and submitted an essay expressing **[his / her]** views on the subject of my research.

Throughout this data collection exercise, [---] demonstrated keen interest in the research topic at hand. **[His / Her]** contributions to the group discussion and the insight **[he / she]** exhibited in **[his / her]** written argument were of the highest quality. I am grateful to **[him / her]** and **[his / her]** fellow participants for voluntarily taking time out of their busy lives to take part in my investigation.

I wish [---] great success in all **[his / her]** future endeavors.

Sincerely,

**Ziad J. Azzam**



## Appendix 9: Student Essays Collected During Phase 1

### Essay Submitted by Participant J-1 – Role Assigned: PARENT

In this essay, the bilingual deficiency between English and Arabic present here in the U.A.E. The view point will be given from that of a parent on whether or not the level of Arabic taught in private schools matches that of English.

The level of Arabic does not match that of English, as the majority of subjects in private schools are taught in private schools. Arabic is currently only being used as a teaching language in Arabic itself and Islamic. This is obviously due to English being one of the main languages spoken by almost everyone. Especially when many private schools are made up of tons of international students, English is the only way most students can understand and be taught in. Arabic is not an option as not everyone can speak it.

As a local parent I would certainly prefer to enroll my child in a school which offers an Arabic-English bilingual programme. As an Emirati parent, I would want my child to be able to speak both languages properly. Arabic is our mother tongue language and therefore is crucial our children can fully speak it.

I wouldn't be sacrificing really anything if I were to choose a bilingual model over an English medium model for my child. For the simple reason once again that Arabic is crucial for our Emirati students to learn. However, this may lead to added unnecessary stress on my child and may not be beneficial to my child the way I want it to.

(250 words)

### Essay Submitted by Participant J-2 – Role Assigned: SCHOOL LEADER

In the UAE English is the second language of communication by the emirates while Arabic language is the sacred language of Islam, which makes it the official language. In view with that this essay will analyze whether private schools in Dubai treat Arabic and English language on equal footage, the challenges of developing International Baccalaureate and how to design a workable Arabic- Bilingual program.

#### **How the Private Schools in Dubai Treat Arabic and English Language**

I do not think that private schools in Dubai treat Arabic and English on equal footing.

The majority of the private schools in Dubai give English language more importance than Arabic. In 2017, private schools were demanded to give Arabic language more importance this is inclusive of upgrading capabilities of instructors, the approaches of true teaching and the revision of curriculum. The year 2017 was marked as the year of launching a plan to promote the Arabic Language and executing it in private schools Sebugwaawo (2017). In addition to this according to Pennington (2014), the majority of the private schools in the UAE had shortcomings in Arabic teaching as most of the subjects are taught in English and as a result students in these private institutions express challenges when it comes to listening and speaking in Arabic. Parents on the other hand requested that Arabic language to be developed in private schools as they felt their language was somehow being neglected by these private learning institutions (Issa, 2013). Teachers also complained that it is a challenge to teach Arabic language in private schools because all subjects are taught in English apart from the 60 minutes in the Arabic lesson and also parents themselves talk in English with their children (Nazzal, 2015).

#### **Challenges in delivering an international curriculum such as a Baccalaureate Curriculum programs within the confines of bilingual model**

Bilingual model plays an important role in the learning and teaching process in learning institutions. The main goal of this model is to assist learners broaden their critical reflection which as a result enables them to associate with real life situations more relevant. Implementation of international curriculum such as Baccalaureate program has its own challenges as this program involves active participation of learners in the classroom and the teacher has to make sure that every learner's accomplishes the task assigned.

Implementation of International Baccalaureate (IB) into the Bilingual model consumes a lot of time for it to be effective as English as most of the learners in this case have English as a second language rather than being the first language. Despite the fact that teachers consult instructors from other disciplines the truth is that they are not familiar with the approved method of assessing learners while using Bilingual method. As a result it is difficult to assess whether learners have gained proper knowledge and skills in the learning process (Sizmur & Cunningham, 2012).

From the challenges presented above it is evident that the introduction of International systems into the Bilingual model has a long way to go for it to be successfully implemented into the school curriculum. In view with that, it is important that the government together with other stakeholders take the initiative to educate the public on the benefits of this model especially if implemented in international rograms.

#### **If you had a free hand in designing a workable Arabic Bilingual Programme what would it look like?**

I would ensure that the Arabic Bilingual address the major factors such as;

- Accommodate the different desires of various families
- It will cater for learners coming in with different educational experience and linguistic backgrounds.
- Be able to attain the goals in the context of PYP and later DP

- It will also create a capacity for parents, teachers and school environment to promote the goals of learning.
- It will also foster professional development program which will develop a bilingual program that is strong in an inquiry context.

I will also ensure that I use design features that are Supportive and in this case, ensure that the mission of the schools also includes the goal for equal status of English and Arabic that is promoting both languages needed by all. This feature is important because IB- PYP need to focus on more than one language making use of similar approach to all including a strong cultural and international component. My model will also ensure team teaching that is two homeroom instructors in every classroom (Native speaker of Arabic and a native speaker of English).

In summary, it is evident that the private schools in Dubai give great importance to English than Arabic language resulting to complain by parents and teachers. Developing an IB program in England has challenges such as it does not have public recognition, the program consumes a lot of time to embed and teachers do not understand assessment criteria. Finally to design a workable Arabic –English bilingual programme, there must be a balance of the two languages in the curriculum and be able to gain support from the school and community culture.

(789 words)

## References

Issa, W. (2013, September 9). Parents brand Arabic teaching in UAE private schools a 'disaster'. *The National* [Dubai]. Retrieved from

<https://www.thenational.ae/uae/education/parents-brand-arabic-teaching-in-uae-private-schools-a-disaster-1.564911>

Malas, G. I., & Community, W. L. (2011). Inspiring Education. *Supporting the Development of a Bilingual Program in the PYP*. Retrieved from <http://www.ibo.org/contentassets/477a9bccb5794081a7bb8dd0ec5a4d17/supportingdevbilingualpyppghinwamalas.pdf>

Nazzal S, N. (2015, May 17). Arabic teachers' challenges when teaching in private schools. *Gulf News* [Dubai]. Retrieved from

<http://gulfnews.com/news/uae/education/arabic-teachers-challenges-when-teaching-in-private-schools-1.1504081>

Pennington, R. (2013, June 2). KHDA knocks private schools for shortcomings in Arabic teaching. *The National* [Dubai]. Retrieved from

<https://www.thenational.ae/uae/education/khda-knocks-private-schools-for-shortcomings-in-arabic-teaching-1.259462>

Sebugwaawo, I. (2017, February 13). Arabic to get priority in private schools. *Khaleej Times* [Dubai]. Retrieved from

<https://www.khaleejtimes.com/nation/dubai/arabic-to-get-priority-in-private-schools>

Sizmur, J., & Cunningham, R. (2012). nfer. *Report for the International Baccalaureate International Baccalaureate Middle Years Programme (MYP) in the UK*. Retrieved from <http://www.ibo.org/globalassets/publications/ib-research/ibmyp-finalinferreport-plussupplementaryanalyses.pdf>

Essay Submitted by Participant J-3 – Role Assigned: STUDENT

In my personal opinion, I don't think Emirati students that attend private schools really yearn an Arabic and English bilingual education. This is due to the fact that the integration of both languages would potentially be difficult to implement. The significant meaning of some terms and sentences in Arabic can be lost in translation to English and vice versa. Moreover, international curriculums, such as the International Baccalaureate Diploma which is the curriculum I personally partake in school, are not apposite for this type of implementation. Furthermore, I personally think that particular subjects, such as biology and other science disciplines, do not necessarily require a bilingual system of teaching. If done so, it would not be a practical solution to boost or improve the dearth of Arabic command in some Emirati students, and it will only hamper and complicate the process, especially given the rigorous and heavy content in biology. Therefore, having an alternate bilingual system of teaching a discipline simultaneously would be complex to materialize the potential benefits of a bilingual education.

I think the real issue lies in the lack of application of the formal classic Arabic beyond the horizons of school and academic life, it cannot be constrained in schooling terms only. For example, I personally have a relatively poor command in the formal Arabic taught in school, albeit that I have been learning it since Grade 1. On the other hand, my informal Emirati dialect of Arabic is relatively satisfactory, although I have not taken any courses on it. The only difference regarding my eloquence of both dialects (informal and formal Arabic) is the application. I speak the informal Arabic on a daily basis, it is our colloquial. Over time, the more I speak to others in the same aforementioned dialect, and listen to them concurrently, I grasp the essence of the dialect. Whereas for formal Arabic, the only application is in classes, and once we students leave the Arabic room, it is like we suddenly neglect it inadvertently. We do know some basic grammar rules, but that should be not considered satisfactory for an Arab living in an Arab country. Hence, we should focus more on engendering and fostering the application of the formal Arabic beyond the boundaries of school. The classic Arabic, the language of the Quran, should be a paramount part of our daily lives, and not be seen as a required course taken only in school. This is why I believe Emirati students who attend to public schools, which is predominately Arabic, are relatively more proficient in both the formal and informal Arabic, as their environment allows them to apply the language more often. Private schools with a cosmopolitan student population, like the one I attend to, in some extent forces some Emirati students to communicate in English as it is much simpler and a more convenient language to resort to.

Many external factors have contributed to the dearth of Arabic proficiency in Emiratis. For example, many Emirati children are born into families where they are raised by their non-Arab maids, instead of the parents themselves. This has been a growing trend over the years, which I think is one of the major factors that has influenced this generation's poor Arabic command. I also think that the globalization of Dubai as a global hub city, where English has gradually started to take shift as a more prominent language, given the high percentage of expatriates in the country and the local Emirati population being the minority. These factors collectively have made it harder for students, like myself, to put priority and emphasis on Arabic, or at least the formal Arabic, as the "go-to" language for every communication.

Nevertheless, this does not mean a bilingual model would not be effective. It depends how it is implemented. Yet, I personally think it won't be a practical and viable solution on a large scale, but a successful one in a small-scale. We can potentially increase the intensity of the Arabic and Islamic classes taught in school, but that can be met with issues such as students with poor articulation unable to cope. Referring back to the International Baccalaureate curriculum, the Arabic standard level is taught differently than that taught in public schools according to the government. It is seen generally that the local governmental curriculum is more intensive and demanding with more focus on the grammar and root of the language, whereas the Arabic standard level I take in school is more focused on literature with little emphasis on the grammar and essence of the language. The various ways of how Arabic is taught in schools can be modified and adjusted, with a potential integration to incorporate the strengths of each type of curriculum. The model should be flexible, this can potentially be a method that both Emirati, Arab and non-Arab students can agree on and be receptive to. (812 words)

### Essay Submitted by Participant J-4 – Role Assigned: REGULATOR

In the UAE, Arabic is considered the official language as it is also the sacred language of Islam. However, the majority of the population have difficulty communicating using their mother tongue and turn to the second language, in this case, English. This essay will focus on the daily struggles Emirati's face and will face in the future if they are not taught the basic terminology in all subjects viable to them in the coming years.

#### **How would you create consensus among the stakeholders around a 'workable' bilingual model?**

Keeping in mind that in the UAE workfield today and in the future, Arabic is a predominantly used language. Unfortunately, the Youth today, graduating mainly from Private Schools are incapable of constructing proper sentences in their mother tongue. Studying abroad and most of the credible Universities in the country do not offer courses in Arabic, making schools the only chance to develop these skills. Being increasingly popular amongst the majority of locals, schools today offer most, if not all of their subjects in English. Therefore students will lack the ability to effectively use the correct terminology for the specific matter at hand. Making it harder to have an efficient role in the workfield, difficult to get their point across. It being as simple as saying multiply and divide or names of important metals in Chemistry..

Courses offered in a bilingual model will have an interesting effect on the brain. the younger to students are more capable to process and absorb the information given to them and are able to flip between languages. So starting from kindergarten, in a weekly manner (Week A all subject taught in Arabic and Week B all subjects taught in English). This could also progress into the primary school as they would begin taking subjects like Maths and Science that will be required in both languages in our daily life as an Emirati. I wouldn't recommend continuing the model into the secondary school as the content, terminology and subjects will only get more complex, this would overwhelm them, add to their stress and attempts to pass the school year. As a local working in the UAE, Arabic is a necessity in order to communicate strongly or at least correctly.

#### **Once a model is agreed, would you choose to impose it through regulation, or would you allow the market to lead its development? Explain.**

I would allow the market to lead its development. As such drastic changes need to be tested first. Any matter in education should be studied in depth and executed only when affirmed. Different programs should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all. But a bilingual model is crucial to have as an option, as it greatly affects where the graduates appointment in the workfield. Their co-workers and colleagues will be dependant on the Emirati individual to be able to translate in Arabic as it is their mother tongue language. This will lead to excessive struggles in the future as Arabic is slowly diminishing. As this is a new program created to benefit the Emirati community in order to improve their language and terminology which will immensely affect their chances of striving in the future. However, this program may also obstruct their thinking skills and overwhelm them greatly. This could lead to procrastination and a lack of motivation to study complex subjects in two languages. Therefore, I think I would allow the market to lead its development as it is a new concept that hasn't really been tested or executed. If the bilingual model is proven to be successful we could implement it in the program.

#### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, I feel that having an overall bilingual system will be very useful and beneficial to those who are struggling with the basis of the language. However, I feel that it won't be very successful and effective. This is because of the double amount of stress, examining and effort to learn a subject in two languages. I think it would be overwhelming for students to cope and in the end their procrastination would take over and cause them to fail or not put in their best efforts.

(661 words)

*Essay Submitted by Participant A-1 – Role Assigned: SCHOOL LEADER*

Education has always been the UAE's top priority. As President His Highness Sheikh Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahyan, founder of the UAE, noted, "The greatest use that can be made of wealth is to invest it in creating generations of educated and trained people."

The United Arab Emirates has focused on educating both men and women. "In 1975, the rate of adult literacy was 54 percent among men and 31 percent among women. Today, literacy rates for both genders are close to 95 percent."

Such statistics bring the country, and specifically the city of Dubai to a better position in the Middle East and the world. Nonetheless, the majority of private schools lack a major key factor in this well-developed country. Undoubtedly, the English language is the official language in a large number of countries. "It is estimated that the number of people in the world that use English to communicate on a regular basis is 2 billion!" Nevertheless, it may be a shock to many people that English is not the most spoken language in the world. In fact, the most spoken language in the universe is Mandarin with 900-955 million native speakers and it is estimated that 360 million native speakers communicate in English (that is a difference of about 595 million individuals).

The weakness point in most of the private schools in the UAE and Dubai is the lack of correct written Arabic form language. Meaning, the Arabic we call "fos'ha." Different forms of Arabic dialects, like Emarati, Jordanian, Palestinian, Syrian, Lebanese, etc. are also declining in their well-being. Therefore, I believe that private schools in Dubai do not treat Arabic and English on an equal footing and implementations to such curriculum would bring it to an enhanced system of education.

Delivering international curriculum, such as the International Baccalaureate programs or the National Curriculum for England, within the confines of a bilingual model does have many challenges. With involving teaching academic content in two languages (native and secondary language), the international curriculum will not completely coincide with the bilingual teaching program model. International teaching schools "cater mainly to student who are not nationals to the host country." This means that a variety of different nationalities would be attainable. "These international curricula are committed to internationalism, developing the global citizen, providing an environment for optimal learning, and teaching in an international setting that fosters understanding, independence, interdependence, and cooperation." With a bilingual model, having two main languages being taught and spoken in a global environment would cause dispersion of student thinking, especially if pupils haven't been present in such environment from a young age. Furthermore, international systems are programmed for the student's ease to be able to study abroad later on in their life in any country they wish to continue their learning career. Many would be calling for several and distinctive languages in which the organization does not provide.

If I had free hand in designing a workable Arabic-English bilingual program, it would evidently look contradistinctive from the one fulfilled now. First of all and most importantly, it would start with kindergartens learning the basics of Arabic and English languages as they move up the ladder, as many researches have proved that children, who grow up learning a foreign language, benefit tremendously. "Children's brains are able to soak in a foreign language at an impressive rate. Not only that, but they are essentially able to learn to speak the language perfectly and without an accent." After learning the basics of each language, children should then start learning how to compare and contrast between the two, being able to link them both together and recognizing the differences among each one. I believe that starting at a young age is, what we normally say: a head start. Therefore, while considering their beginning ages, they should be a little bit challenged to benefit from the head start. I also believe that placing children of the speaking languages being taught in the same classroom will enhance their ability of cooperation and sociability, which will lead to a successful peak in the learning and developing of the two languages. Finally, as young individuals grow up in a bilingual environment with an acceptable level of collaboration, they will naturally start gaining the advantages of such program and will allow them to continue their learning abroad with fluently speaking more than one language. (729 words)

*Essay Submitted by Participant A-2 – Role Assigned: PARENT*

Many, if not all, private schools in Dubai are English-centered, whether that be of American curriculum schools, British curriculum schools, or International schools. Meaning that every student in the school is exposed to an overpowering amount of English subjects over Arabic. On the other hand, as for public schools in Dubai, most are government based and Arabic-centered, with students having Arabic subjects in general, as opposed to having most subjects in English and some in Arabic. As an Emirati parent, I feel it is essential for my children and the children of our future to enroll in Arabic-English bilingual schools and become equally finessed in Arabic, their mother language, as they are in English.

To start off, as mentioned previously, private schools in Dubai are solely concentrated on the English language itself, with very few Arabic-teaching classes. The English dialect is undoubtedly the most dominant in the world, and with Dubai as an economic modern powerhouse with over 150 different nationalities, it is also the most common language used for communication. Having the English language taught and used in private schools is certainly an advantage in our present and for our future; however, as an Arab, I do not feel like the Arabic language is highlighted and communicated enough to our children in their schools. Therefore, I definitely do not think that the level of Arabic taught in private schools match that of English.

Adding on, I feel like enrolling my Emirati child in a school that offers an Arabic-English bilingual program over an English medium school would definitely help advance my child's education, and knowledge abilities. Thus, hopefully easing my child's progression of perhaps learning another language in the future. From my point of view, an Arabic-English bilingual program would either have an equal amount of Arabic and English speaking staff, or all staff members working within the educational program would have to be both Arabic and English speaking individuals. As for classes and subjects, lessons should be taught separately with both languages to further enhance the students' bilingual vocabulary, writing, reading and speaking skills. To make the experience of studying two languages during the same time period more enjoyable, the program should also offer activities and pastimes with both Arabic and English included within participating in them. These leisurely events would give the students a more hands-on experience of living in the real world and balancing the two languages.

Moreover, by choosing to enroll my child in a bilingual model over an English medium model, I, as an Emirati parent, would be sacrificing the fact that the Arabic-English bilingual program would be the first of its kind in our nation, which means that it is almost impossible for it to go forth without mishaps or slip ups. However, there is always room for improvement, and with a ministry of education that is as strong as the one in the United Arab Emirates, it is without a doubt that changes for the better would be enforced towards any unintentional error within the program that needs to be emended. Another thing I would be sacrificing is my child's future; enrolling my child in a rare and new learning program is very risky. Nonetheless, I have faith and am very sure that the best teaching and schooling would be offered to prove that an Arabic-English bilingual education is set put in the United Arab Emirates to further strengthen the knowledge of our children who hold the future in their hands.

Furthermore, in my opinion as an Emirati parent, it would take a lot for an Arabic-English bilingual model to succeed in Dubai's private education sector. The most important part that makes or breaks the occurrence of this program is support from the government. The building and making of this newly found idea is in the hands of those in power who set forth all decisions made in this country, in other words, the government. Aid and assistance from the authorities will definitely help speed up the process and bring success to the bilingual model by making sure that the most knowledgeable resources are present to strengthen this educational experience. Also, it is important for the program to have a high performing curriculum that will benefit both the students and staff; and that is all possible with the assistance and support of the government.

In conclusion, it is very much possible, with the help and commitment of others, for an Arabic-English bilingual model educational program to succeed in the Dubai and I, as an Emirati parents, would undoubtedly enroll my child to build his education and knowledge skills as a bilingual students.

(770 words)

Essay Submitted by Participant A-3 – Role Assigned: SCHOOL OWNER

People that speak multiple languages are called bilingual speakers. UAE is a country with many Arabic-English schools, There is a demand in the market for Arabic-English speaking schools. There are many advantages to having an Arabic-English speaking school, some are that students will be able to communicate with people from more than 20% of native-English speakers in the world. It will give students an advantage in order to communicate with people from diverse countries, and for the parents to let their kids reach their goals and become superior in the future and with their jobs. Businesses today consist of many people with different nationalities from around the world, to communicate they must share the same level in a particular language, like English. Students all have different levels of proficiency in their languages and some students levels could be more advanced in a certain language than the other students and in order to find an even ground there must be a balance in the “speaking department”. Many people would disagree with the idea of a bilingual speaking school, because they have an extortionate price and are occasionally private schools and that may be a reason in why this model is not on offer today. Often seen that when a student learns a second language, the student loses interest to study other subjects, which can also result in an adverse effect on the overall academic development.

Schools may find a hazard when looking for a teacher that will be suitable for the role, and one that communicates and speaks and enunciates in a clear and well understood manner. Often Bilingual Education is also considered to elevate the literacy skills and the content knowledge of the students. With increased knowledge, Bilingual education can make children adapt different languages that may help them to achieve more options for a successful career.

Obstacles will occur, students may find it difficult to focusing other subjects and they may get distracted by the other subjects. Obstacles can be overcome and for students to overcome the fact that subjects are going to be hard or focusing in other subjects other than the important ones is they can get tutors or make an organized system in schools that allows the students to focus more in an orderly fashion. Teachers may also find a difficulty with communing with the students and understanding them when they're lost or don't know what to say. In order to overcome that the teachers would try to learn the students ways of communication and the way that they comprehend everything, or the teacher would try to learn the language to communicate and understand the students and that may cause the teacher to become better at her job. The cost that comes with developing an Arabic-English is an excessive amount of money, not only because it is two different languages, but because they will be combining different subjects with the other main subjects and that will require more books and more classrooms and more teachers. The cost issues may be resolved by getting financial support from donors.

Bilingual Education provides students of outstanding merit, as it makes them adapt to learn and adjust new things easily. The English language is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world, second to Mandarin. When it comes to business and matters of trade, the English language tends to be the common currency. By studying English through a respected English school, you can expect to be able to conduct business transactions, write and respond to documents such as: emails, memos, contracts, agreements and reports and possibly pursue a career in business. Technology is important and significant in the day and age in which we live.

English is very often the language used for many software programs and for those that are technologically minded and ambitious, the study of English can provide them with useful benefits and knowledge. In some schools bilingual education means studying your science, maths, art, and drama lessons in two languages, But in American schools in Dubai science, maths, English, history are usually all in English and the Arabic classes are Islamic, Arabic, and Arabic social studies. This is why being bilingual is a significant asset in a changing environment where communication is essential.

(709 words)



Essay Submitted by Participant A-4 – Role Assigned: SCHOOL LEADER

Language impacts the daily lives of members of any race, and region of the world. Language helps express our feelings, desires, to the world around us. Words, gestures, and tone are used in a union to portray emotion. The unique and distinct methods human beings can use to communicate through written and spoken language is a large part of what allows to harness our ability to form lasting bonds with one another; separating mankind from the rest of the animal kingdom.

It is arrogant to believe that one can travel the world and expect all of mankind to understand his or her native tongue. In order to travel the world, whether, for business or pleasure, a desire and willingness to adapt to new cultures and methods are necessary. Is very difficult and near impossible, to adapt and get along with new people if there is no way to communicate with one another. The impact of multilingualism can be traced to even more fields. A doctor who can communicate with his or her patient in their native tongue is much more likely to have success at diagnosing them.

Arabic and English are used equally in Dubai private schools. Students do use English more than Arabic when they talk to each other, watch movies, read books. The schools do teach, use Arabic and English equally but not all student engage in Arabic classes more than they do in English classes. In classes, students are just made to learn enough to pass their exams. They are taught words and meanings, some prepositions. But what they need to teach them is more grammar, sentence formation etc. Classes that use English are science, math, history, pe, music, art, and literature. The other classes that use Arabic are Arabic and Islamic. The English language is starting to overpower the Arabic language because around 1 billion of the world uses English. So if Dubai doesn't start using Arabic anymore then that affects our culture and we mustn't lose our culture. But we also need English because a lot of people use English when they communicate.

Some people may disagree with the idea that Arabic and English are treated equally because they might think that not all schools that are bilingual teach Arabic as much as English. In some bilingual schools the subjects, such as math, science, history, and arts are taught in Arabic and they're undermining the English subject which is only the English class whilst some bilingual schools also undermine Arabic subjects: they teach English, science, maths, and history in English and the Arabic subjects are only Islamic and Arabic.

Bilingual Education is two languages being used in a school for instruction and social interaction. Bilingual Education in an English-language school system in which students with little fluency in English are taught in both their native language and English. Challenges for Bilingual Education are Most teachers were educated Monolingual. There is a strict separation of languages, teachers, and curriculum. Teachers have to produce new knowledge and practices based on their personal skills and the school's support, and Language delay. Bilingual education fails to adequately teach English. More challenges are designing an appropriate model and policy, planning, and managing change, providing learning materials in different languages, finding, training and keeping teachers. A big challenge is also keeping both languages equal learning each language equally it is hard to make time to learn each language and studying them. Bilingual education places two language groups together and promotes the learning of a second language while maintaining the home language. We know challenges in bilingual education but what are the benefits? The benefits are flexible brains, better reading comprehension. The number of bilingual adults that complete their graduation from high school and move towards college and their change of getting a job in the market is higher compared to monolinguals. A bilingual education can strengthen the executive function of the brain. Research shows that because bilingual students are able to use two languages at the same time, switching consistently, it develops skills for functions such as inhibition, switching attention, and working memory. As such, students who are being educated bilingually, often perform better on tasks which require multi-tasking, decision making and problem-solving, even though they have nothing to do with the language.

If I had the opportunity to create a bilingual programme it would be well organized, in an orderly fashion, and make sure that all languages taught will all be treated equally.

The teachers there would have to bilingual. The subjects would be divided equally between Arabic and English. I would provide learning materials in different languages.

(768 words)

*Essay Submitted by Participant A-5 – Role Assigned: SCHOOL OWNER*

Language is a combination of sounds, representing words to connect with other people. It is used to communicate and to share and express their inner status. Bilingualism, however, this term is used to describe a learner who uses two or more languages to communicate. “You can never understand one language until you understand two” said Geoffrey Willans. In recent years, scientists have begun to show that the advantages of bilingualism are even more fundamental than being able to converse with a wider range of people. Being bilingual, it turns out, makes you smarter, gives you cross-cultural access, and future employment advantages.

The majority of the schools in Dubai are, in fact, bilingual. Parents in today’s world are seeking to identify paths to support their children’s future goals by trying their best to support them. In today’s universal economy, the ability to converse and connect with others is necessary, and the more companies expand internationally, the more bilingualism has become a prodigious advantage in the workforce. “Dubai is home to more than 200 nationalities living and working together, therefore in order to have a diverse client base, you need to be able to communicate in as many different languages as possible and understand different cultures.”. For example, if you are to work in customer service, sales or business, adding a second language to your collection will enable you to communicate with a broad spectrum of clients and candidates. We are constantly seeking bilingual people in the workforce because they could aid with communication with people from diverse nationalities.

Unquestionably, there must be a demand in the market for Arabic - English bilingual schools, there are multiple reasons behind why bilingual schools may not be in offer today. The first reason being the cost and expenses of having a bilingual school. It could be difficult to find applicants and hire teachers to teach the students more than one language. Unfortunately, qualified bilingual teachers are in short supply. Teaching in a bilingual school is not the same as teaching in a monolingual one as there are many issues that can arrive. It is difficult to find teachers experienced with teaching bilingual children, or children who are not completely fluent in both languages. Teachers need to be trained in this area and there are not many who are. Also, there needs to be a consistent education. Not all bilingual schools offer a balanced education in both languages. In many there is a dominant language, then a second language. For a child to really have a bilingual education, it needs to be consistent throughout the years. Students generally have different levels of proficiency in language, the level of a student could be much more advanced than another, this makes it challenging for the teachers to keep track of all the students’ levels in education.

It is certainly difficult to erase all of these obstacles standing in the way of the development of an Arabic English schools. However, there is a way to avoid them, the educational institutes could ask for government sponsorships, and promote the benefits of bilingual education. These could help finance scholarships for the training of bilingual teachers and the purchase of school materials. The money will be invested in the development of bilingual programs in the schools. As for the maintenance of consistent education, students could be divided into different classes based on their level of proficiency, and it could be professionally recorded throughout the years. Bilingual teachers are in high demand these days as schools struggle to educate increasing numbers of children who don’t speak much — or any — English. Some school districts can boost the recruitment of bilingual teachers by lowering requirements and paying bonuses.

Bilingual children benefit academically in many ways. They are able to switch between languages, they develop more flexible approaches to thinking through problems. Their ability to read and think in two different languages promotes higher levels of abstract thought, which is critically important in learning. Bilingualism has positive effects on children’s linguistic and educational development. In Dubai, there is a high demand in the market for Arabic-English bilingual schools, but it is difficult to have many models on offer today because it is much more expensive than monolingual schools, there is a short supply in qualified teachers and it is challenging to maintain a consistent education due to the different proficiency in the students’ language. In order for us to overcome these obstacles, we could attempt to

ask for sponsorships, divide the classes based on the level off the ability of skill in the students, and ease the process of hiring a qualified bilingual teacher. Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for building of language learner knowledge, maintaining resources and cultural identify, closing the gap between language learners and native speakers, and producing language learns with higher long-term academic outcomes than those educated monolingual.

(810 words)

Sources:

<https://bilingualkidspot.com/2018/02/04/bilingual-school-pros-cons/>

<https://visual.ly/community/infographic/lifestyle/monolingual-vs-bilingual>

<https://sg.theasianparent.com/benefits-of-bilingualism-for-your-child/>

<http://sisd.ae/bilingual-school-dubai-multilingual-education-global-citizens/>

<https://www.naldic.org.uk/Resources/NALDIC/Initial%20Teacher%20Education/Documents/B1.pdf>

<https://www.fluentu.com/blog/benefits-of-being-bilingual/>

Essay Submitted by Participant A-6 – Role Assigned: REGULATOR

The process of globalization has been universally expanding over the years, leading to the rapid availability of businesses and technologies across various regions in the world through markets, communication, and transportation. As a result, the demand for multilingual individuals who are capable of communicating with those who emerge from different backgrounds is progressively increasing. Advanced linguistic skills that cover different languages have multiple guaranteed benefits, including enhancements in other skills such as problem solving, divergent thinking, cognitive flexibility, and analytical skills. Multilingual individuals have an increase in job opportunities in different careers, and are presented with greater chances at getting a particular job in comparison to monolingual applicants. They also have the opportunity to interact with people of different cultures and upbringings that others would normally be unable to due to language barriers, exposing them to the different beliefs and traditions that exist in this world. Ignorance slowly dissolves as knowledge and acceptance begins to take a stance, lessening the occurrences of racism and discrimination.

Educational institutions play a major role in altering the extent of knowledge an individual receives, and their roles include monitoring and enhancing the development of linguistic and communication skills. Bilingualism is encouraged as the importance of it becomes apparent, and multiple schools have attempted to create successful bilingual models. A few methods have been created, such as the dual language bilingual education. This form of teaching bilingually involves the placement of half native English speakers and half native speakers of another language in the same room in hopes that they will learn about each other's culture and language. Another method is when one teacher teaches the native language and the other teaches a second language in alternate times. A method also exists where a bilingual instructor teaches subjects in students' native language for a period of a selected number of years, then the subjects are taught in the target language for the next selected number of years as the proficiency increases. This method is known as the transitional bilingual education method, and the belief behind it is that fluency in a native language can result in an easier acquisition of fluency in a second language.

Although several methods exist, not many schools in the United Arab Emirates follow them. The idea of developing an Arabic-English bilingual school is praised, yet there are difficulties with doing so. The level of English and Arabic taught in most schools are not equal, English evidently surpassing Arabic. Creating the perfect bilingual model is impossible, as the level of proficiency in languages between students are different. Students come from different backgrounds, and some may excel in a particular area while others do not. A perfect bilingual model would meet every student's needs and conditions, a task that cannot be done. The difficulty of creating a successful model is an obstacle itself. There are many schools in the U.A.E. that follow international curriculums, which increases the difficulty of setting a bilingual education model. The number of bilingual instructors are not very high, and the cost for following a bilingual education model is high. In addition, proper negotiation with the stakeholders of educational institutions may not be present, which prevents the number of bilingual individuals from increasing. Consent for a difficult project will not be given easily, and in order to obtain stakeholders' trust and permission, one must provide evidence of the success of a proposed bilingual model. Numerous data recordings of experiments should be presented, and good arguments in favor of implementing the model should be made. Attaining support from the people will also prove to be beneficial, as schools are businesses, and nothing is as reassuring as having people claim that they will send their kids to a school that educates students using a bilingual model. Creating surveys that represent what the people want will lead to greater success.

With new beginnings, caution approaches. Not every outcome can be predicted, and to prevent unsuccessful events from occurring, one must take the steps needed to stop them. Once a model is set, it is important that regulation be imposed. It is essential to monitor the quality of education that is being delivered to a number of students, and to keep track of how the newly introduced model is functioning. Some regulators also have the responsibility of handling complaints, which is a fundamental aspect of

growth and improvement. Regulators occasionally question the students, checking to hear their thoughts on the modifications that have been made. By knowing people's reactions to the model and their thoughts, improvements can be made. Monthly or yearly observations are also needed to track the progress and the changes if some were to be made. Data that is to be collected from the regulators will prove to be extremely useful in achieving the results that are desired.

In conclusion, language is an art, a foundation for the creation of our identities. A different language is a different perspective, a new vision of life. It is important for us to explore the different cultures, traditions, and lifestyles through the languages others speak. The increase in numbers of bilingual and multilingual individuals depends the strength of the will of those who are capable of bringing change and that of the person who wishes to change. Creating successful bilingualism education models will results in the development of great skills, improvement in the quality of education, better futures, and growth within the nation. "One language sets you in a corridor for life. Two languages open every door along the way" – Frank Smith.

(920 words)

Essay Submitted by Participant A-7 – Role Assigned: STUDENT

Speaking or talking in two languages is a must for all Emirati citizens to survive in the social aspect of the UAE community, as bilingualism is crucial for most people outside English-speaking countries. Because of Globalization and Americanization, English has become the world's most spoken language since around 1919 after World War I, and has affected most countries around the globe, especially the UAE. The UAE has had a thriving economy in such short notice, which means it would have to communicate with other countries which speak English, and so English has to be taught in order for that to happen, and it makes total sense for it to be taught to the younger generation. But that comes with a consequence, English has taken over the Emirates and most Emirati students who go to private schools, which mostly have English speaking teachers, therefore forced students to be bilingual in addition to Arabic, their vernacular language.

As a Student, I believe that some Emirati students, like me, who attend private schools would really want an Arabic-English education. It is important for us to continue the use of the world-known English language, but appreciate and explore the depths of our mother tongue, Arabic. The majority of students now would not encourage the modification of the modern schedule, which consists of at least 5/9 classes to be English, from courses mostly in English to Arabic taught classes. They would not encourage it because they have grown used to the English dominant education they have been getting since Kindergarten, but starting now for the generations to come, and finding a balance between Arabic and English, French, German or any other language, would be ideal. Most of the world has been taken over by the English language, everywhere you turn English is sprawled somewhere, whether it's a water bottle or a shop sign.

Me, an Arabic speaking student, writing this essay in English shows how much students have been influenced by English, especially local, Emirati students. To evolve the idea of an Arabic- English core education for Emirati students, we must bring into play the use of Arabic in everyday tasks not only at home, but at school as well, to not only strengthen our mother-tongue, the language of the Quran, but to also make children and even adults passionate about the beautiful language, that is Arabic.

An ideal bilingual model that all Emirati students can agree on would be quite challenging to find, or in this case suggest, because of everyone's different perspective on language, and the ongoing debate whether English is taking over the Arabic speaking world, which does spark some controversy between parents and schools. Most private schools in the UAE with either American, IB, or British curriculums follow the Immersion model, where a student group is taught in two languages, sometimes one more than the other, in this case it's English being taught more. Finding a median for bilingual education is crucial, a successful bilingual model for education would probably be the one-way dual language immersion, which helps empower and develop bilingual students. This model would distribute the languages into a 50/50 balance, for example, one week would include Language arts and Social studies in Arabic, with Math and Science in English, and another week with Language arts and Social studies in English and Math and Science in Arabic, so the second week would be a continuation of Math, Science, and Social Studies or History from English to Arabic. Having a one week focus on English Language arts and another on Arabic Language Arts would benefit the Emirati students, in which it would reduce stress by giving them enough time to finish their work, as well as not confusing the students due to the week long separation between the two languages, that fairly splits them in half. This system of education can be used with any two languages, but in the UAE it's mostly Arabic and English. Arabic is crucial to the UAE and its citizens because it had built our country and is the language chosen for our holy book, but English is the biggest world language and must be taught in all education outlets.

This model must be relevant to all nationalities, because ultimately the UAE is an Arabic country. Just like in America and the UK, English must be taught to natives and non-natives, it's mandatory, even in most countries in the world, English had become mandatory in the UAE to all citizens, so why can't Arabic be mandatory as well? Arabic is a compulsory language to learn for Arab students, and even in some schools for non-Arabs, which has grown to be a good process. Many non-native students have noted that

learning a new language all over again has challenged their thinking, their way of solving things, and their remembering of information, which helped in benefitting them in the long run. I would like to believe that if the one-way dual language immersion in Arabic and English was applied to all schools in the UAE for Arab and non-Arab students, the reception of such an education would be greeted welcomingly, but there are many factors in the playing here which must mean that many parents and students may disagree to a modification in education, as such.

In summary, Bilingualism is something all Emirati students must endure, it is between their native language and the world's language, we must be able to balance the two without overriding one on the other. If people are to study a bilingual education in the UAE, they must be taught exceedingly well and with great balance, the one-way dual language immersion assures that. It gives a balance between two languages which are equal in importance, to be taught at a high standard, and is beneficial as it encourages logical thinking and a longer attention span. All Emirati students who attend a private school, or any school to say the least, must learn to be bilingual, it is just the acclimation of such an education that must be put on the pedestal.

(1009 words)



Essay Submitted by Participant A-8 – Role Assigned: STUDENT

Despite being one of the most global countries in the world, bilingual learning is still at the forefront of the political and social agenda in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). This, in turn, results in the widespread of stigmatism revolving around the importance of knowing your native language whilst also being a global citizen, and knowing global languages. It is taken upon the students of private (and some public schools) to strengthen their Arabic; whether that be their native language or foreign language. The pressure and shame applied in schools accumulates the minds of these developing students. Feeding them shame and humiliation for their weak Arabic will not allow Arabic communities to grow and develop a strong foundation of their native language- instead, cause an ever growing sense of hatred towards the language, rather than feeling a sense of identity.

As a student who faces the difficulty of being a bilingual student and a person who faces the pressure of preserving your mother tongue it is safe to state that bilingualism is a never ending, problematic abyss. It is evident to notice the extremity of the revolving stigma around the topic of bilingualism. As a student who predominantly studies in English, I have noticed the skill and passion needed to perfect both my mother tongue and my 'global' language. Yet, pressure being fed by school facilities and ministries of education tells us otherwise. From experience, it's clear to see the thick tension and fear of 'forgetting' your native tongue. In my previous essay, I expressed my opinion in preserving my native language- most importantly, the Emirati dialect. Yet, at this crucial time in my life, it is difficult to maintain any focus trying to perfect a language I already know. There are many factors that contribute to making a language perfect, and unfortunately, the public ceases to provide the most suitable resources to help this generation.

Emiratis do face a disadvantage for their undeniable weakness in their own language; T.V shows, music, radio broadcasts, school districts, and written work most primarily is in English. Arabic classes don't pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; instead the focus is directed to grammar and comprehension. Yet, how can a student develop and enhance his/hers ability to speak in another language if the basis of our work at school revolves around grammar? - In which cant be applied to an 'unfamiliar' language. Teachers are told to stress upon the fact that our Arabic is weak, yet no action is being issued to stop this problem. Arabic scholars preaching on the importance of preserving a language tend to dismiss the rich culture and pride behind ones dialect- ultimately failing to save another dying branch of a language. Overall, the general approach the majority of people have on preserving Arabic in the UAE is unjustifiable.

As a student, it is much more comforting improving the 'new wave' of Emirati Arabic rather than improving the formal Arabic. In a student's point of view, bilingualism is an art yet to be perfected; there must be a slight weakness in one of the languages in order to feel comfortable to speak the other. The term 'new wave' closely identifies with the sense of beginning; the newer generation struggles with finding a common ground with the Arabic spoken by their parents and elders. The Arabic the new generation identifies with can easily be classified as a new language. It's a form of Arabic no one would want to identify with due to the shame older generations have associated it with. So, how can we fix this problem? Or, how can we embrace it? Well, the Emirati population is a minority, and there seems to be a lot of discussion around the importance of preserving the Arabic language regardless of the locals' status in the UAE. Therefore, shining the light on elders of Emirati descent and providing them the proper platform and audience to teach and guide the newer generations is the most appropriate solution. Another solution is having the ministry of education prohibit teaching formal Arabic after middle school, and instead, offer classes like Emirati Studies- in which Emirati teachers come and teach students of the rich dialect and cultural heritage in the UAE. This in turn, also provides Emiratis with a wider range of professions. Responding to the second question, it is difficult to embrace a form of a language that is looked down upon; yet, allowing the newer generation to make their language their own seems fair. The saying goes, "home is what you make it", the UAE is our home, and 'updating' this new wave of Emirati Arabic should not be degraded. Being self aware of the beauty the Arabic our parents and elders speak is

crucial to the step the nation can take for allowing the newer generation to embrace their Arabic. Being a student amongst the uproar, I can't help but notice the effort my peers can take to be patriotic to their own language. I have also noticed the younger students speaking primarily in English throwing Arabic slang into their speech, creating a cocktail of what truly is the UAE.

Ultimately, there isn't a cookie cutter model for the perfect bilingual student- it's an unrealistic idealization. In many ways, bilingual education is the ideal education system and should be enforced in all schools- but on the condition that, students should not be felt with an overwhelming sense of shame if one language is weaker than the other. That especially comes in hand when that language is their mother tongue. The world is attempting to raise global citizens; and with that mindset should come a mature approach and understanding of the student's ability to know more than one language. In my previous essay I mentioned the bilingual education will allow a student's native language to be perfected whilst their secondary language to be mastered as well. I can strongly argue that this argument isn't one I can back up anymore. After experiencing the stigmatism first hand, I can state that bilingual learning is an effective form of education, but there should be sense of acceptance from the student him/herself when sacrificing one of the languages. Furthermore, I believe the bilingual education can raise global citizens and it's one of the few forms of education that offers a world-class experience.

(1057 words)

## Appendix 10: Thematic Analysis of Key Phrases/Sentences Extracted from the Student Essays Collected During Phase 1

Question related to Theme 1: <i>Do the Arabic and English languages enjoy equal status?</i>	
<i>Arguments in favour</i>	<i>Arguments against</i>
Arabic and English are used equally in Dubai private schools	English has taken over the Emirates and most Emirati students who go to private schools are forced to be bilingual
In the UAE workfield today and in the future, Arabic is a predominantly used language	It makes total sense for it (English) to be taught to the younger generation
As a local working in the UAE, Arabic is a necessity in order to communicate strongly or at least correctly	The UAE has had a thriving economy in such short notice, which means it would have to communicate with other countries which speak English
	English has become the world's most spoken language since around 1919 after World War I
	There are many factors that contribute to making a language perfect, and unfortunately, the public ceases to provide the most suitable resources to help this generation
	Private schools in Dubai do not treat Arabic and English on an equal footing
	Some people may disagree with the idea that Arabic and English are treated equally
	If Dubai doesn't start using Arabic then that affects our culture and we mustn't lose our culture
	The English language is starting to overpower the Arabic language
	Students do use more English than Arabic when they talk to each other, watch movies, read books
	In some bilingual schools subjects such as math, science, history and art are taught in Arabic and they're undermining the English subject
	Whilst some bilingual schools also undermine Arabic subjects: they teach English, science, maths, and history in English
	Businesses today consist of many people with different nationalities; to communicate they must share the same level in a particular language
	When it comes to business and matters of trade, the English language tends to be the most common currency
	Technology is important in the age in which we live; English is very often the language used for many software programs
	Many, if not all, private schools in Dubai are English-centered
	Every student in the school is exposed to an overpowering amount of English over Arabic
	English is undoubtedly the most dominant (language) in the world
	There are very few Arabic-teaching classes

	It (English) is also the most common language used for communication (in Dubai)
	Having the English language taught and used in private schools is certainly an advantage in our present and for our future
	As an Arab, I do not feel like the Arabic language is highlighted and communicated enough to our children in their schools
	The level of English and Arabic taught in most schools are not equal; English evidently surpassing Arabic
	English being one of the main languages spoken by almost everyone
	The level of Arabic does not match that of English
	Arabic is currently only being used as a teaching language in Arabic itself and Islamic
	The majority of subjects in private schools are taught in private schools [sic.: 'English']
	I do not think that private schools in Dubai treat Arabic and English on an equal footing
	The majority of private schools have shortcomings in Arabic teaching; as a result students face challenges when it comes to listening and speaking in Arabic
	Most of the subjects (in the majority of private schools) are taught in English
	Parents feel their language (Arabic) is being neglected in private schools
	Teachers consider it a challenge to teach Arabic language because their time with students is limited to 60 minutes (a day), and parents themselves talk in English with their children
	Private schools with a cosmopolitan student population in some extent forces Emirati students to communicate in English
	Many external factors have contributed to the dearth of Arabic proficiency in Emiratis
	Many Emirati children are born into families where they are raised by their non-Arab maids
	The globalization of Dubai, where English has gradually started to take shift as a more prominent language, given the high percentage of expatriates
	Students...lack the ability to effectively use the correct terminology... Making it harder to have an effective role in the workfield
	Most credible universities in the country do not offer courses in Arabic
	Schools today offer most, if not all of their subjects in English
	This will lead to excessive struggles in the future as Arabic is slowly diminishing

<b>Question related to Theme 2: <i>Is there a place for an Arabic-English bilingual model in Dubai's private K-12 sector?</i></b>	
<i>Arguments in favour</i>	<i>Arguments against</i>
We (Emiratis) must be able to balance the two (languages) without overriding one on the other	Many parents and students may disagree to a modification in education, as such
Bilingualism is crucial for most people outside English-speaking countries	Bilingualism is a never ending problematic abyss; the perfect bilingual student – it's an unrealistic idealization
I would like to believe that if the dual language immersion was applied to all schools for Arab and non-Arab students, it would be treated welcomingly	Bilingualism is an art yet to be perfected; there must be a slight weakness in one of the languages in order to feel comfortable to speak the other
The majority of schools in Dubai are, in fact, bilingual	Many people disagree with the idea of a bilingual speaking school
In Dubai, there is a high demand in the market for Arabic-English bilingual schools	By choosing to enroll my child in a bilingual model I would be sacrificing my child's future
Bilingual education is the ideal education system and should be enforced in all schools – but on the condition that students should not be left with an overwhelming sense of shame if one language is weaker than the other	Enrolling my child in a rare and new learning program is very risky
Bilingual learning is an effective form of education, but there should be acceptance from the student him/herself when sacrificing one of the languages	The Arabic-English bilingual program would be the first of its kind; it is almost impossible for it to go forth without mishaps
Bilingual education can raise global citizens and it's one of the few forms of education that offers a world-class experience	Although several methods (of bilingual models) exist, not many schools in the UAE follow them
Implementations (that aim at bring more equity to the two languages) would bring the curriculum to an enhanced system of education	Proper negotiation with the stakeholders of educational institutions may not be present
Enrolling my child in a school that offers an Arabic-English bilingual program over an English medium school would definitely help advance my child's education, and knowledge abilities	In order to obtain stakeholders' trust and permission, one must provide evidence of the success of a proposed bilingual model
As a local parent I would certainly prefer to enroll my child in a school which offers an Arabic-English bilingual programme	Once a model is set, it is important that regulation be imposed; it is essential to monitor the quality of education that is being delivered
I would want my child to speak both languages properly	Creating the perfect bilingual model is impossible, as the level of proficiency in languages between students is different
Arabic is our mother tongue language and therefore is crucial our children can fully speak it	Many private schools are made up of tons of international students; English is the only way most students can understand and be taught in
I wouldn't be sacrificing really anything if I were to choose a bilingual model over an English medium model for my child	Arabic is not an option as not everyone can speak it
A bilingual model is crucial to have as an option, as it greatly affects where the graduates appointment in the workforce	However this may lead to added unnecessary stress on my child and may not be beneficial to my child the way I want it to be
	I don't think Emirati students that attend private schools really yearn an Arabic and English bilingual education
	It (bilingual model) won't be practical on a large scale, but a successful one in a small-scale

Question related to Theme 3: <i>What are the benefits of bilingual education?</i>	
<i>Arguments in favour</i>	<i>Arguments against</i>
Being bilingual, it turns out, makes you smarter, gives you cross-cultural access, and future employment advantages	Having two main languages being taught and spoken would cause dispersion of student thinking
Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for building language learner knowledge	Bilingual education fails to adequately teach English
Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for maintaining resources and cultural identity	Not all bilingual schools offer a balanced education in both languages
Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for closing the gap between language learners and native speakers	In many (bilingual schools) there is a dominant language, then a second language
Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for producing language learners with higher long-term academic outcomes than those educated monolingual	A bilingual program can also result in an adverse effect on the overall academic development
As young individuals grow up in a bilingual environment with an acceptable level of cooperation, they will naturally start gaining the advantages of such program	When a student learns a second language, the student loses interest in studying other subjects
This will allow them to continue their learning abroad with fluently speaking more than one language	Students may find it difficult to focus on other subjects and they may get distracted by the other subjects
The benefits of bilingual education are flexible brains, better reading comprehension	However, it (a bilingual model) won't be very successful and effective
The benefits of bilingual education are longer attention span and stronger working memory	It would be overwhelming for students to cope and in the end their procrastination would take over and cause them to fail
The benefits of bilingual education are improved performance on tasks which require multi-tasking, decision-making and problem-solving	Because of double the amount of stress, examining and effort to learn a subject in two languages
The benefits of bilingual education are higher chance of getting a job in the market compared to monolinguals	Content, terminology and subjects will only get more complex, this will overwhelm them
It (bilingual education) gives students students an advantage in order to communicate with people from diverse countries	
It (bilingual education) elevates the literacy skills and the content knowledge of students	
It (bilingual education) can make children adapt different languages that may help them to achieve more options for a successful career	
It (bilingual education) allows parents to let their kids reach their goals and become superior in the future and with their jobs	
Being bilingual is a significant asset in a changing environment where communication is essential	
Creating successful bilingualism educational models will result in the development of great skills, improvement in the quality of education, better futures, and growth within the nation	
Bilingualism is encouraged as the importance of it becomes apparent, and multiple schools have attempted to create successful bilingual models	
Multilingual individuals have enhanced skills in problem solving, divergent thinking, cognitive flexibility, and analytical skills	

Multilingual individuals have an increase in job opportunities in different careers	
Multilingual individuals are presented with greater chances at getting a particular job in comparison to monolingual applicants	
Multilingual individuals have the opportunity to interact with people of different cultures and upbringings	
The bilingual model plays an important role in the learning and teaching process	

**Question related to Theme 4: *What obstacles stand in the way of the establishment of an Arabic-English bilingual model?***

***Arguments***

They (bilingual schools) are much more expensive than monolingual schools
Designing an appropriate model and policy and providing learning materials in different languages
Qualified bilingual teachers are in short supply
It is difficult to find children who are completely fluent in both languages
Delivering international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model does have many challenges
The international curriculum will not completely coincide with the bilingual teaching program model
The challenges for bilingual education are most teachers were educated monolingual; finding, training and keeping them is a challenge
The challenges for bilingual education are designing an appropriate model and policy and providing learning materials in different languages
The challenges for bilingual education are it is hard to make time to learn each language and studying them
The cost that comes with developing an Arabic-English program is excessive
Combining two different languages with the other main subjects requires more books, classrooms and teachers
Schools may find a hazard when looking for a teacher that will be suitable for the role
It would take a lot for an Arabic-English model to succeed
The most important part is support from the government
The idea of developing an Arabic-English bilingual school is praised, yet there are difficulties with doing so:
Many schools in the UAE follow international curriculums, which increases the difficulty of setting a bilingual model
The number of bilingual instructors are not very high
The cost for following a bilingual education model is high
Implementation of International Baccalaureate (IB) into the bilingual model consumes a lot of time for it to be effective
Teachers are not familiar with the approved method of assessing learning while using the bilingual method
It is important that the government with other stakeholders take the initiative to educate the public on the benefits of this model, especially if implemented in international programs
The integration of both languages would potentially be difficult to implement
International curriculums are not apposite for this type of implementation
Particular subjects, such as biology and other science disciplines, do not necessarily require a bilingual system of teaching

**Question related to Theme 5: *What would a successful Arabic-English bilingual model look like?***

**Arguments**

To evolve the idea of an Arabic-English core education for Emirati students, we must bring into play the use of Arabic in everyday tasks not only at home, but at school as well

To evolve the idea of an Arabic-English core education for Emirati students, we must make children and even adults passionate about the beautiful

A successful bilingual model for education would probably be the one-way dual-language immersion.

This model would distribute the languages into a 50 / 50 balance: One week would include language arts and social studies in Arabic, with math and science in English, another week with language arts and social studies in English, and math and science in Arabic

The model must be relevant to all nationalities

For a child to really have a bilingual education, it needs to be consistent throughout the years

A workable Arabic-English bilingual program would evidently look contradistinctive from the one fulfilled now

It (the bilingual model) would start with kindergartens learning the basics of Arabic and English languages

Children should then start learning how to compare and contrast between the two (languages)

Placing children of the speaking languages being taught in the same classroom will enhance their ability of cooperation and sociability

If I had the opportunity to create a bilingual programme, I would make sure that all languages taught will be treated equally

If I had the opportunity to create a bilingual programme, I would make sure that the teachers would be bilingual

If I had the opportunity to create a bilingual programme, I would make sure that the subjects would be divided equally between Arabic and English

If I had the opportunity to create a bilingual programme, I would make sure that I would provide learning materials in different languages

Making sure that the most knowledgeable resources are present and having a high performing curriculum will benefit both the students and staff

An Arabic-English bilingual program would offer an equal amount of Arabic and English speaking staff or all staff members would be bilingual

An Arabic-English bilingual program would offer lessons that are taught separately with both languages

An Arabic-English bilingual program would offer activities in both Arabic and English, to give students a more hands-on experience of living in the real world and balancing the two languages

An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to accommodate the different desires of various families

An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to learners coming in with different educational experience and linguistic backgrounds

An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to attain the goals in the context of PYP and later DP

An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to create a capacity for parents, teachers and school environment to promote the goals of learning

An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to foster professional development to develop a bilingual program that is strong in an enquiry context

An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to ensure that the mission of the schools also includes the goal of equal status of English and Arabic

An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to ensure team teaching, e.e, two homeroom instructors in every classroom (native speaker of Arabic and of English)

Different programs should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all

Younger students are more capable to process and absorb information... and are able to flip between languages

Starting from kindergarten,... this could progress into the primary school

Subjects like Maths and Science will be required in both languages in our daily life as an Emirati

I wouldn't recommend continuing the model into the secondary school



<b>Question related to Theme 6: <i>Are there issues with the way that Arabic is currently taught in private schools?</i></b>	
<i>Arguments in favour</i>	<i>Arguments against</i>
Arabic classes don't pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; instead the focus is on grammar and comprehension	The classical Arabic should be a paramount part of our daily lives, and not be seen as a required course taken only in school
Arabic scholars preaching importance of preserving language tend to dismiss the rich culture and pride behind one's dialect – ultimately failing to save another dying branch of the language	
It is much more comforting improving the 'new wave' of Emirati Arabic rather than improving the formal Arabic	
The new generation struggles with finding common ground with the Arabic spoken by their parents and elders	
Shining the light on elders of Emirati descent and providing them with the proper platform to teach and guide the newer generations	
Being self aware of the beauty the Arabic our parents and elders speak is crucial for the newer generation to embrace their Arabic	
Having the Ministry of Education prohibit teaching formal Arabic after middle school	
Offering classes like Emirati Studies (instead of classical Arabic) in which Emirati teachers come and teach students their rich dialect and cultural heritage	
The majority of private schools in Dubai lack the correct written Arabic form	
Different forms of Arabic dialects, like Emirati, Jordanian, Palestinian, etc. are also declining	
The real issue lies in the lack of application of the formal classical Arabic beyond the horizons of school and academic life	
The only difference regarding my eloquence of both dialects (informal and formal Arabic) is the application	
Teachers are told to stress upon the fact that our Arabic is weak, yet no action is being taken to stop this problem	
Feeding them shame and humiliation for their weak Arabic will not develop a strong foundation of their native language – instead, cause an ever growing sense of hatred towards the language, rather than feeling a sense of identity	
Emirati students who attend public schools are relatively more proficient in both the formal and informal Arabic, as their environment allows them to apply the language more often	
The various ways Arabic is taught can be modified with a potential to incorporate the strengths of each type of curriculum	
The local government curriculum is more intensive and demanding with more focus on grammar and root of the language	
The Arabic I take in school is more focused on literature with little emphasis on grammar and essence of the language	

## Appendix 11: The Construction of a ‘Loose Network’ – Case Example

As an illustration of the ‘loose networks’ were constructed, I will present the process in which one of the 12 essays authored by Participant J-1 (which happens to be the shortest one of the set at 250 words) was transformed into a ‘loose network’. The essay is reproduced below in its entirety.

In this essay, the bilingual deficiency between English and Arabic present here in the U.A.E. The view point will be given from that of a parent on whether or not the level of Arabic taught in private schools matches that of English.

The level of Arabic does not match that of English, as the majority of subjects in private schools are taught in private schools [sic.: ‘English’]. Arabic is currently only being used as a teaching language in Arabic itself and Islamic. This is obviously due to English being one of the main languages spoken by almost everyone. Especially when many private schools are made up of tons of international students, English is the only way most students can understand and be taught in. Arabic is not an option as not everyone can speak it.

As a local parent I would certainly prefer to enroll my child in a school which offers an Arabic-English bilingual programme. As an Emirati parent, I would want my child to be able to speak both languages properly. Arabic is our mother tongue language and therefore is crucial our children can fully speak it.

I wouldn’t be sacrificing really anything if I were to choose a bilingual model over an English medium model for my child. For the simple reason once again that Arabic is crucial for our Emirati students to learn. However, this may lead to added unnecessary stress on my child and may not be beneficial to my child the way I want it to. – Participant J-1

The first step in constructing a ‘loose network’ is to identify the emerging themes from the narrative. Ignoring the first paragraph, which is purely introductory, it is clear that two overriding themes arise from the essay. The first theme, relating to the second paragraph, centres around the question: “Do the Arabic and English languages enjoy equal status?” Paragraphs three and four relate to the second theme in the essay, namely: “Is there a place for an Arabic-English bilingual model in Dubai’s private education sector?”

Having identified the emerging themes, the second step involves highlighting key phrases and sentences in the essay. In doing so, I followed the principle of being as exhaustive as possible, whereby only in cases of almost verbatim repetition, or phrases and sentences that have no bearing whatsoever to the general topic of the research (which were rare), were the phrases/sentences in question ignored. Examining the second paragraph in the sample essay reproduced above, seven key phrases/sentences were identified and underlined, as demonstrated below.

The level of Arabic does not match that of English, as the majority of subjects in private schools are taught in private schools [sic.: ‘English’]. Arabic is currently only being used as a teaching language in Arabic itself and Islamic. This is obviously due to English being one of the main languages spoken by almost everyone. Especially when many private schools are made up of tons of international students, English is the only way most students can understand and be taught in. Arabic is not an option as not everyone can speak it.

Key phrase 1: ‘The level of Arabic does not match that of English’.

Key phrase 2: ‘The majority of subjects in private schools are taught in [English]’.

Key phrase 3: ‘Arabic is currently only being used as a teaching language in Arabic itself and Islamic’.

Key phrase 4: ‘English being one of the main languages spoken by almost everyone’.

Key phrase 5: ‘Many private schools are made up of tons of international students’.

Key phrase 6: ‘English is the only way most students can understand and be taught in’.

Key phrase 7: ‘Arabic is not an option as not everyone can speak it’.

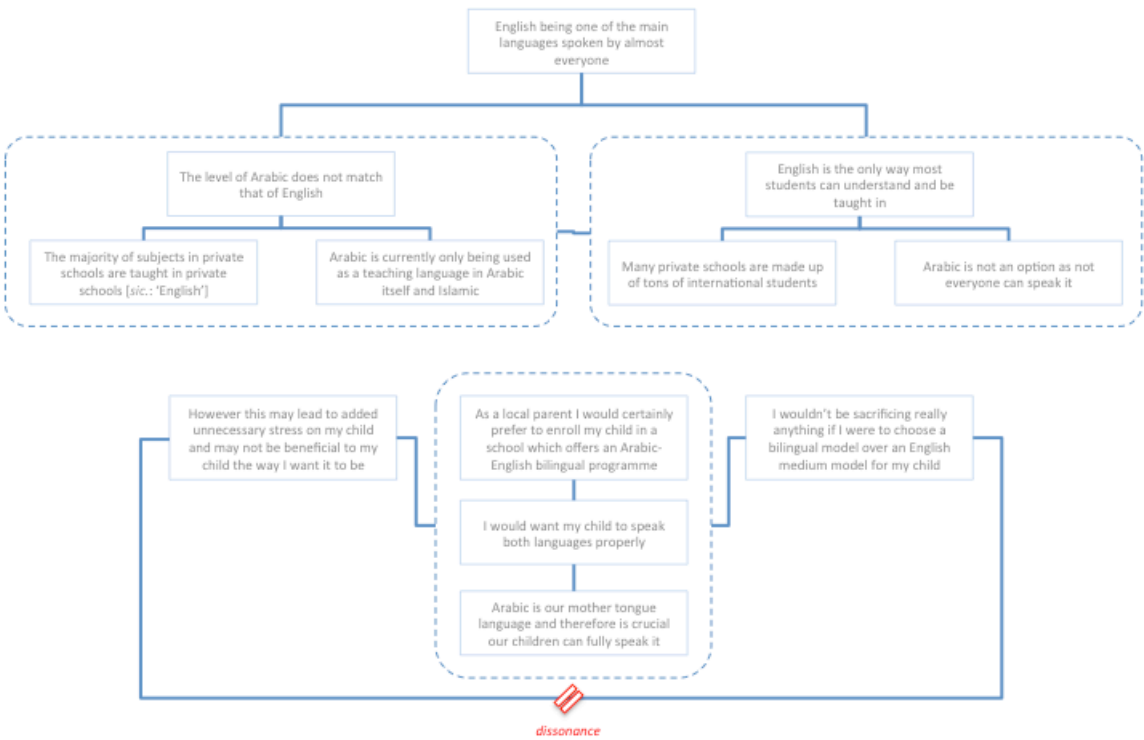
The third and final step in the construction of the ‘loose networks’ is to cluster the key phrases and sentences together that relate to a single theme, and connect them using vertical lines to indicate any

serial or causal links between them, and horizontal ones for parallel associations that are either complimentary (which I have termed 'harmonious') or divergent (which I have termed 'dissonant'). In some of the essays, there were instances where two or more phrases were, collectively, linked by either parallel or serial association to a single phrase or another group of phrases. In such cases, I chose to envelop them within a dashed-line box and to draw connecting lines between them as the situation dictated. The resulting 'loose network' for Participant J-1 is provided in Appendix 12. Harmonious links are indicated through connecting lines (either vertical or horizontal) with no additional label; dissonant links (only one in this case) are clearly labelled as such. There were, of course, some cases where a particular phrase (or cluster) belonging to one theme connected, either harmoniously or dissonantly, serially or through parallel association, with a phrase or a cluster of phrases associated with another theme. The resulting 'loose network' reflected this through the appropriate link. The example of J-1's essay lacks any such association.

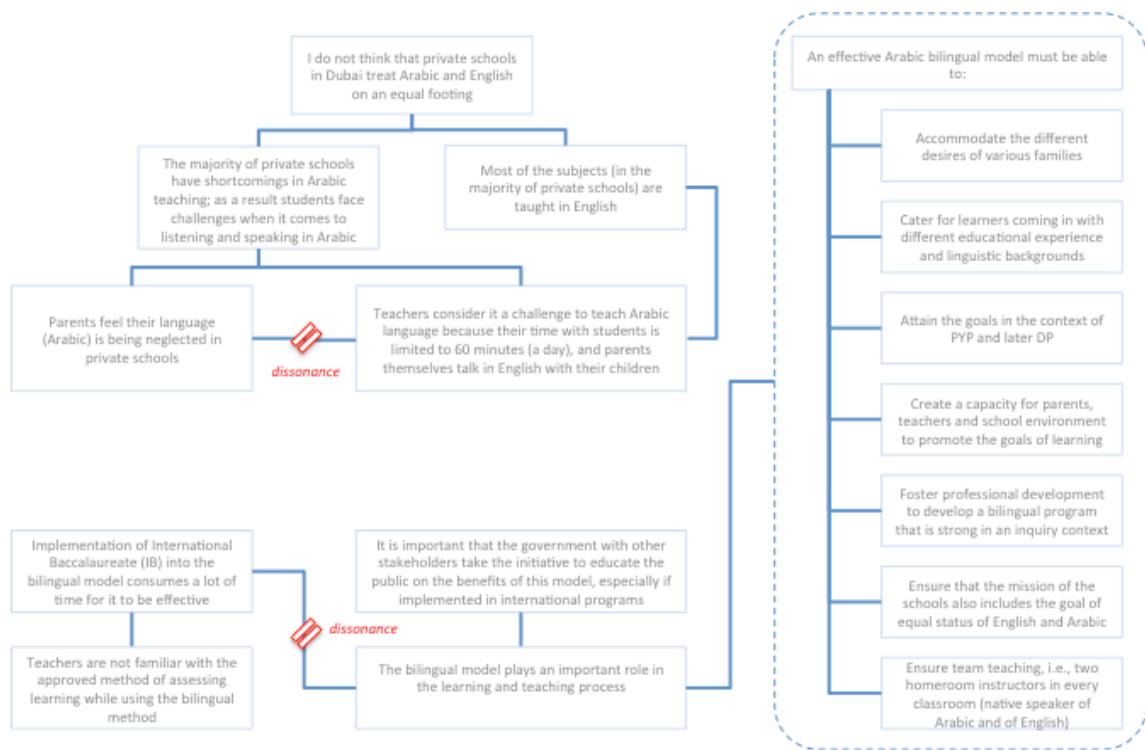
.

Appendix 12: ‘Loose Networks’ for the Twelve Student Essays

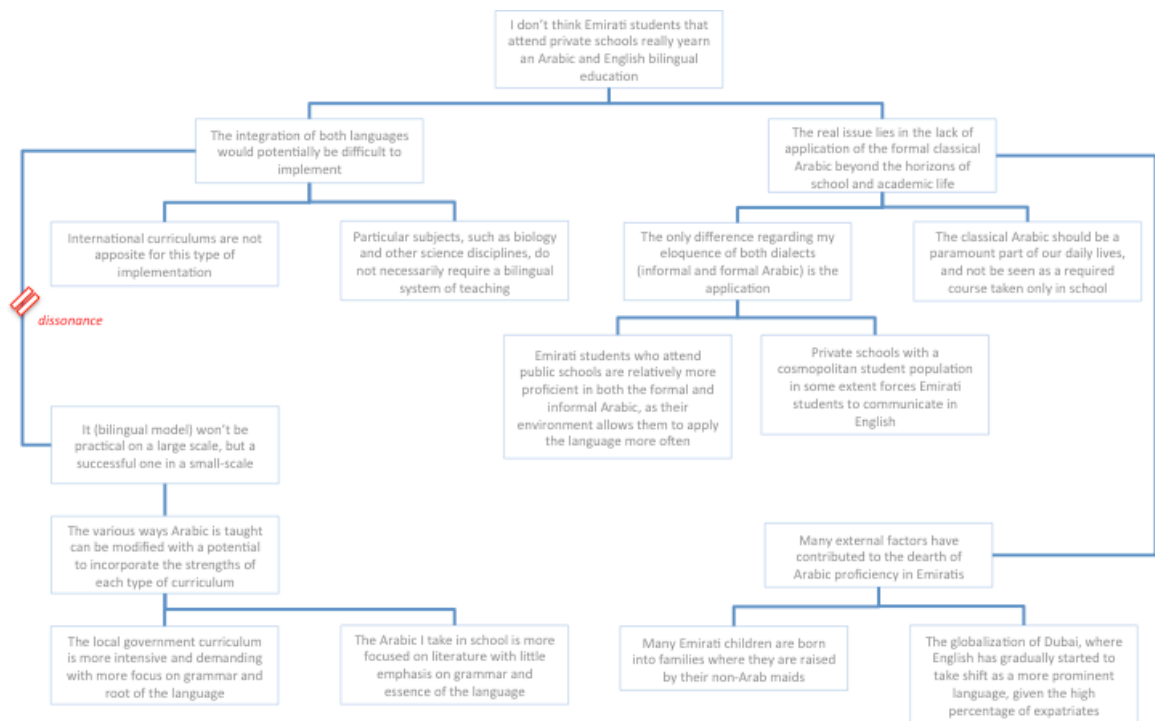
*‘Loose Network’ Based on Essay Submitted by Participant J-1*



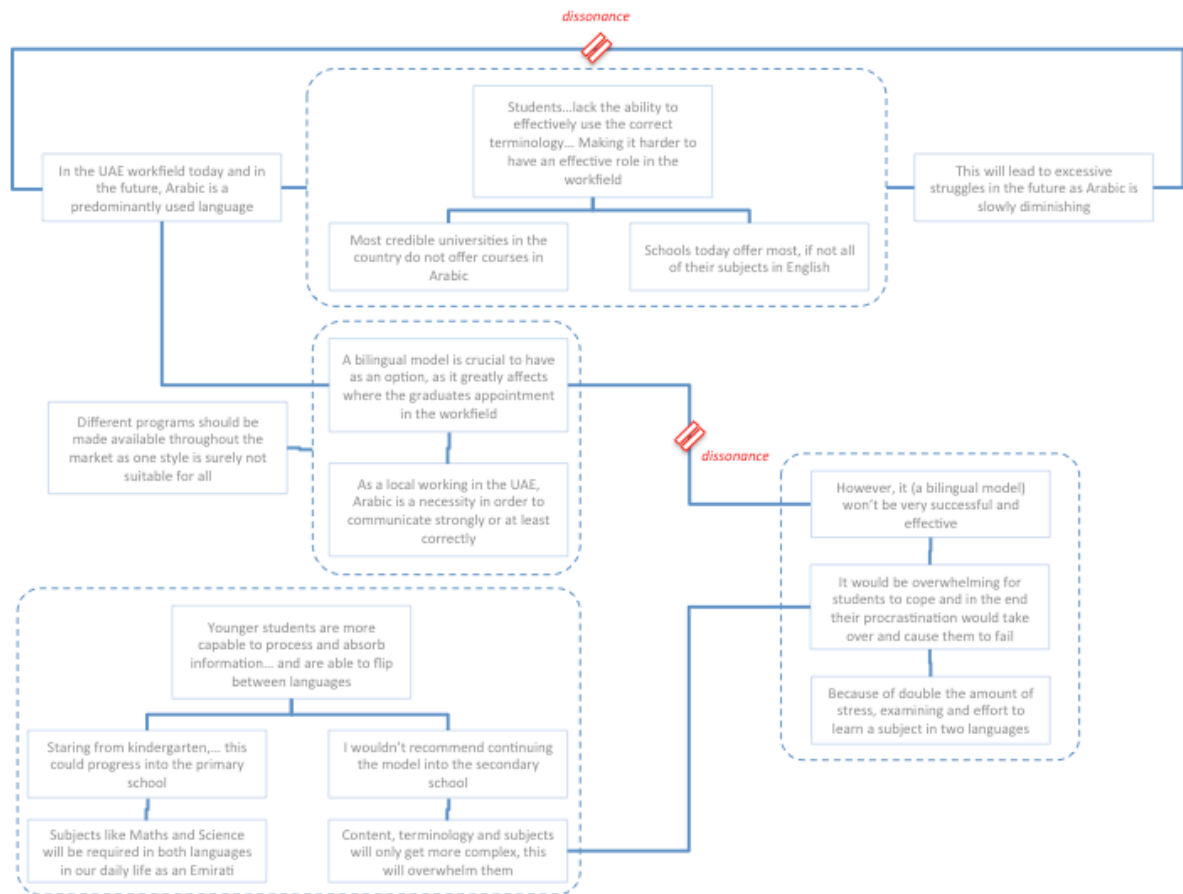
'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant J-2



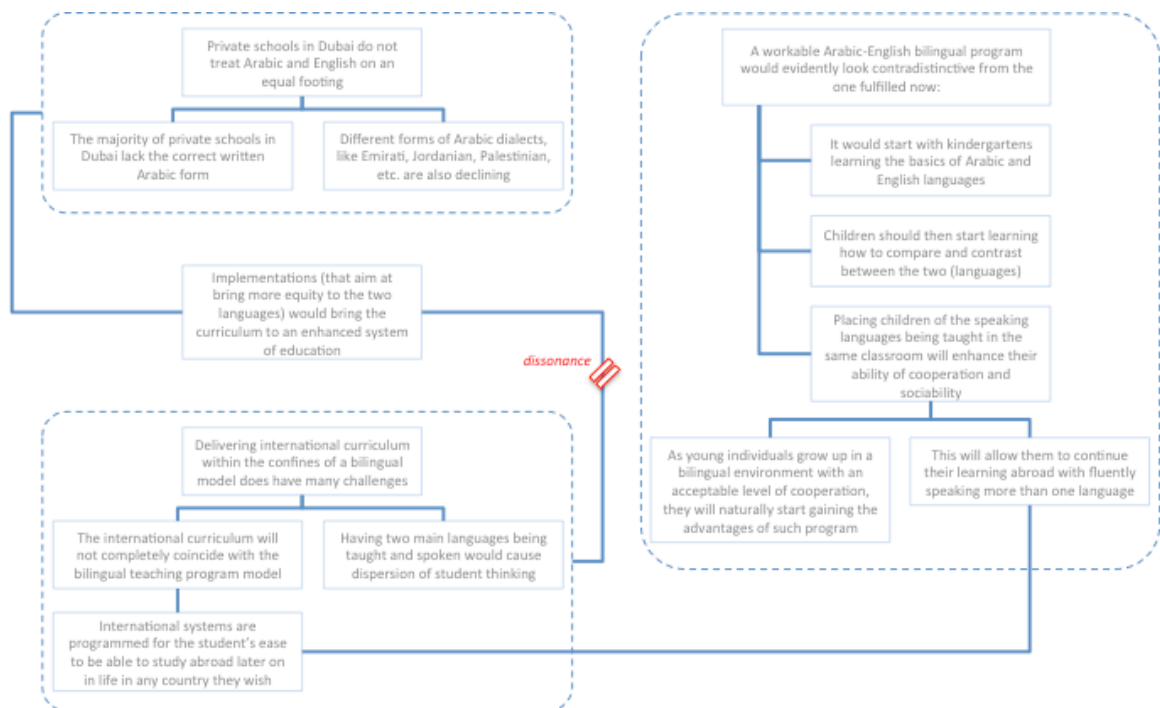
'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant J-3



'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant J-4

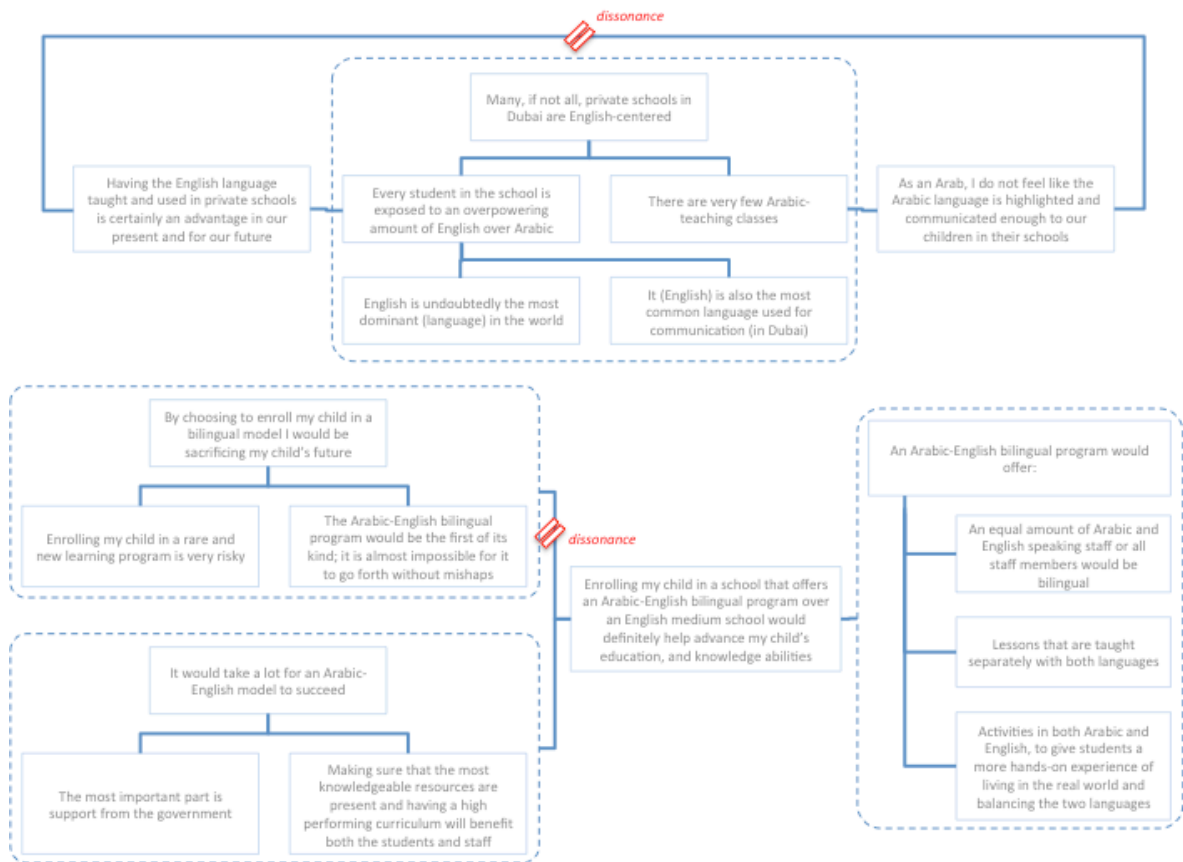


'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant A-1

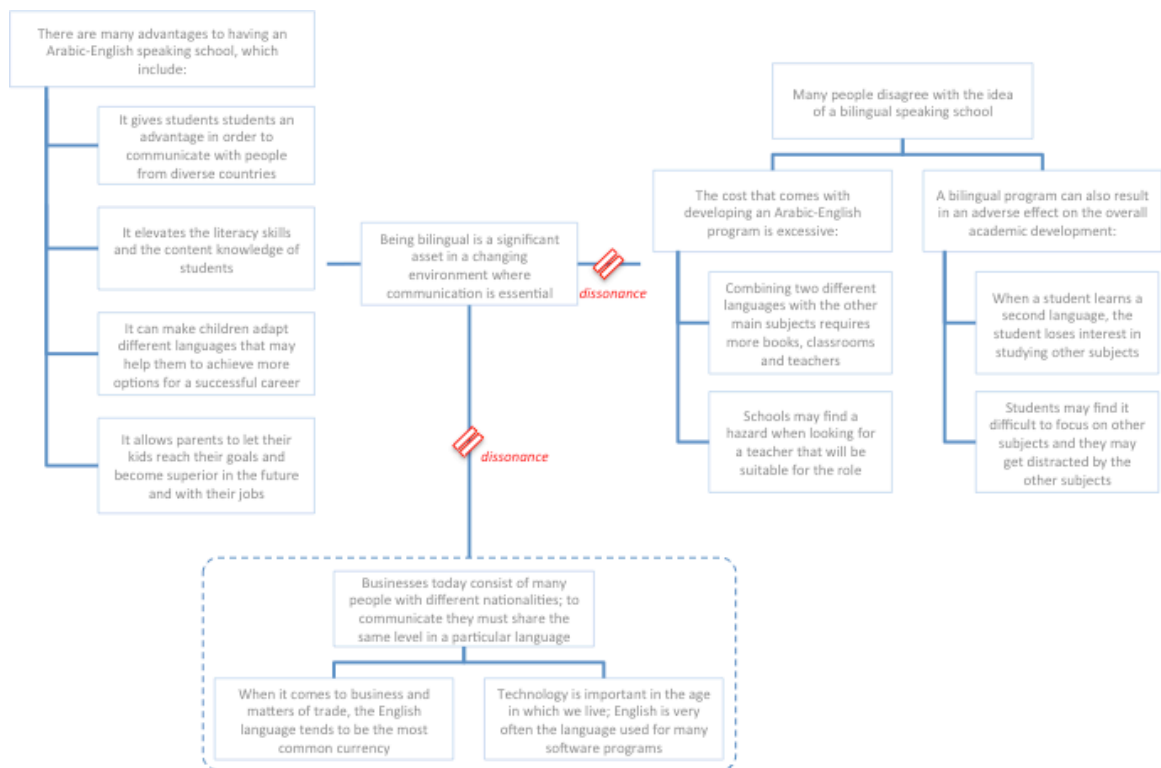




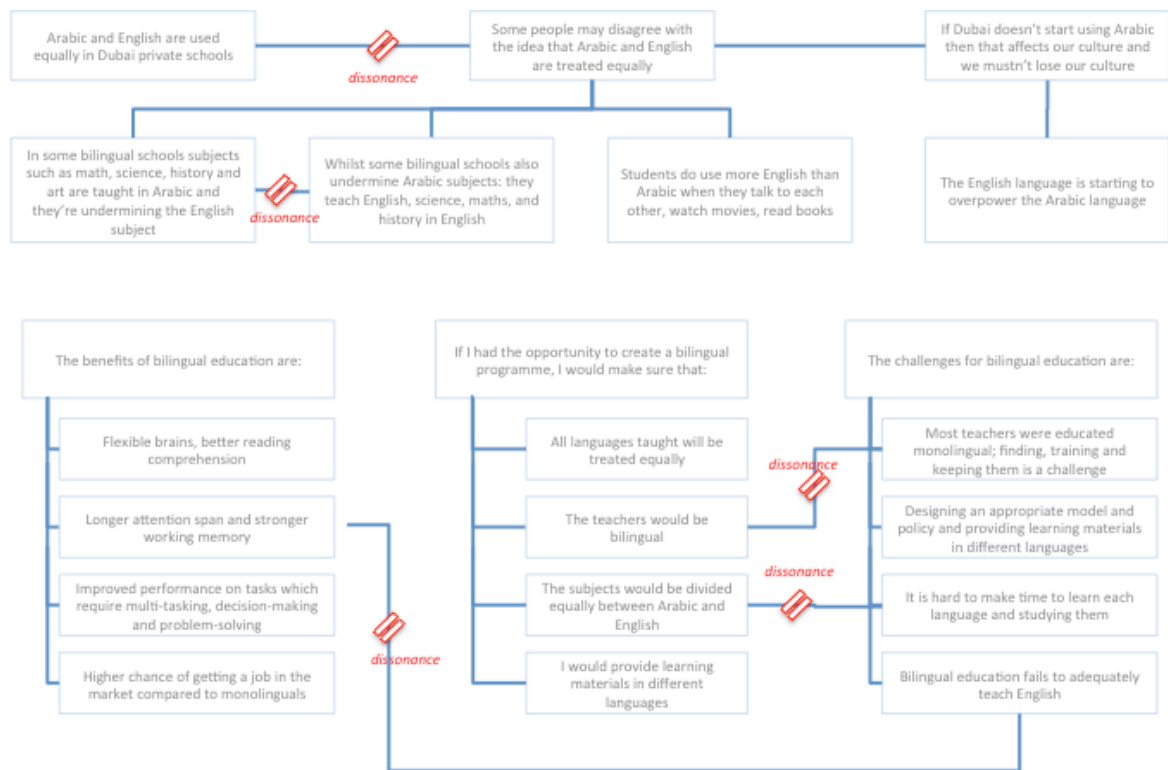
'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant A-2



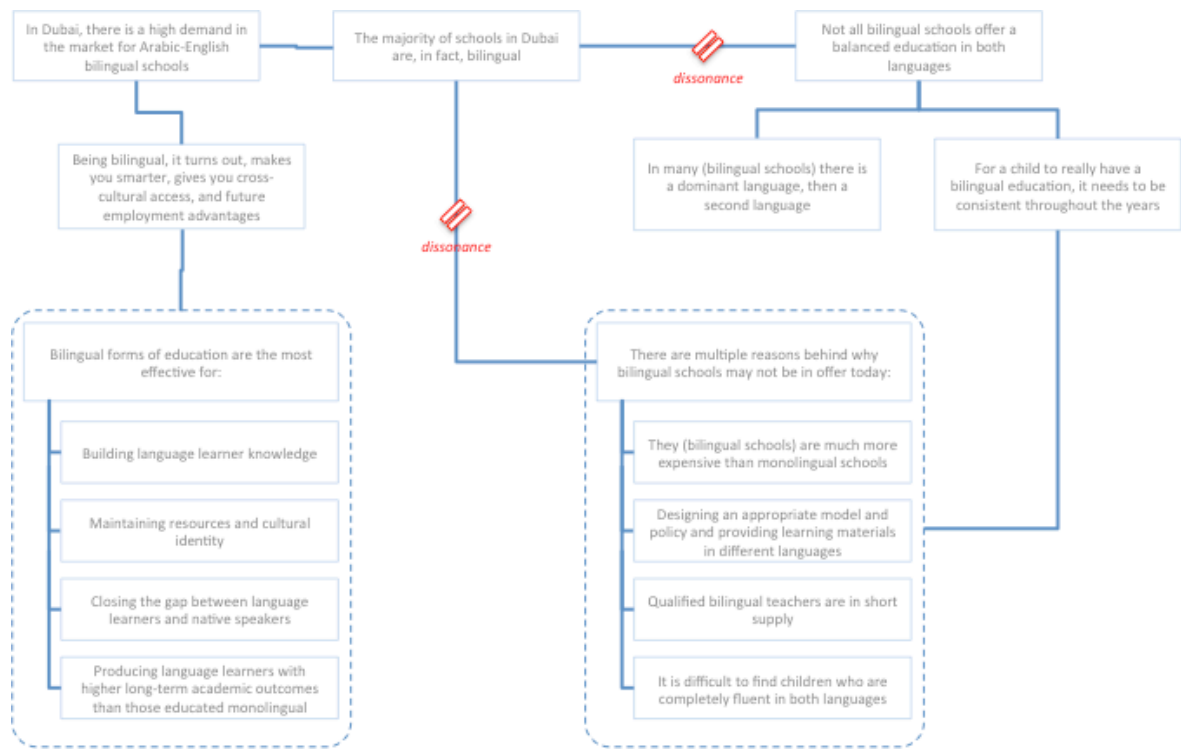
'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant A-3



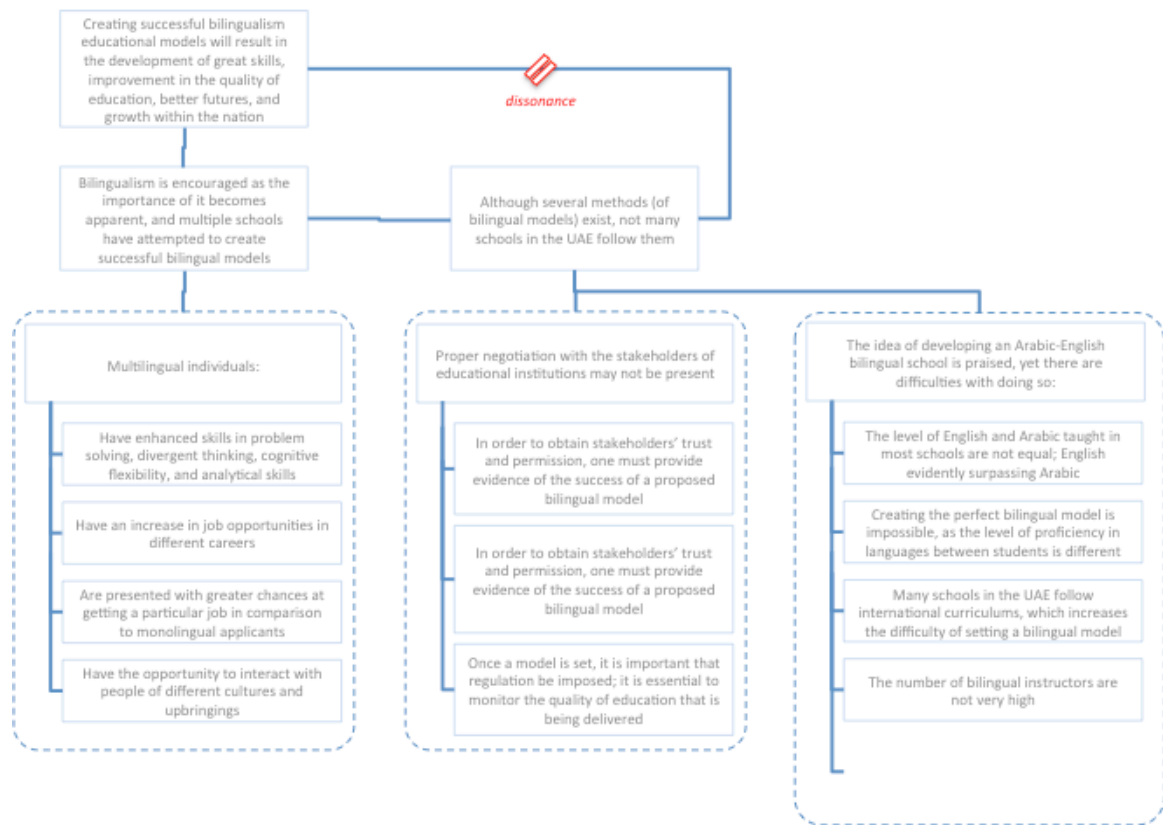
'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant A-4



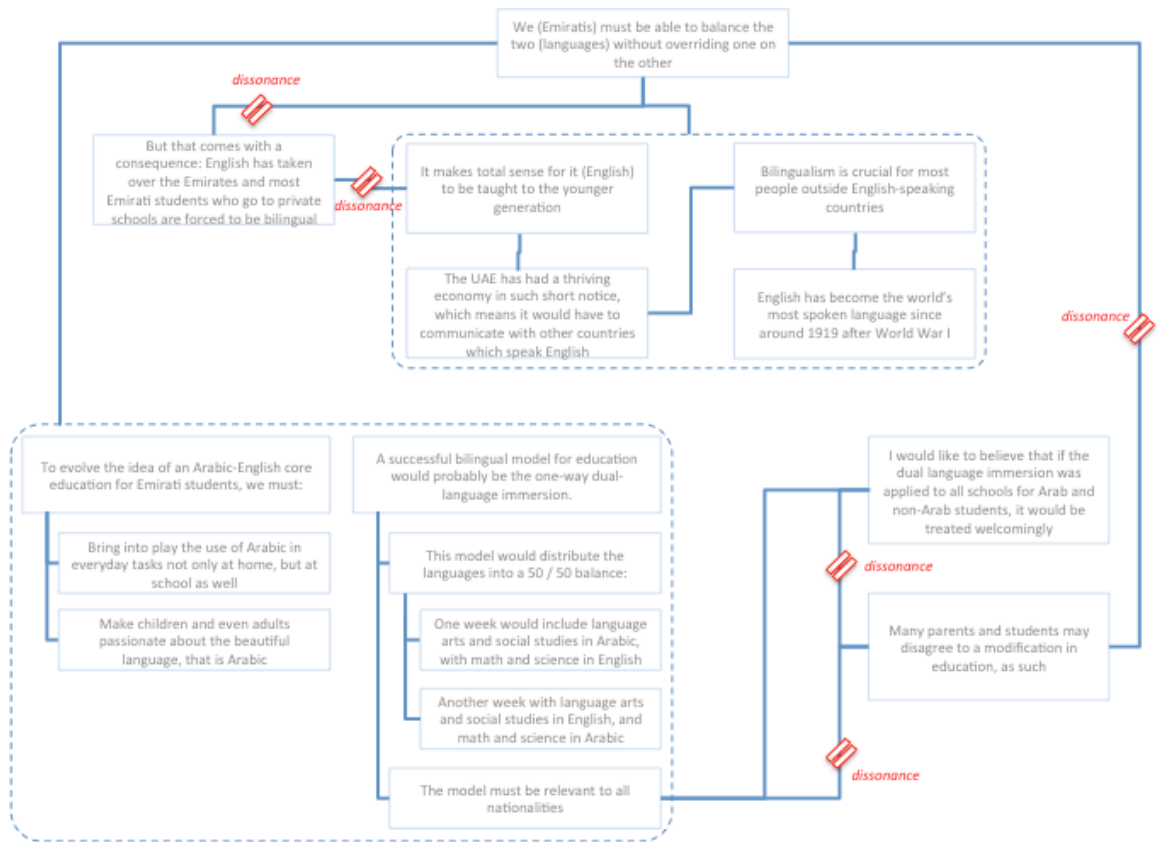
'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant A-5



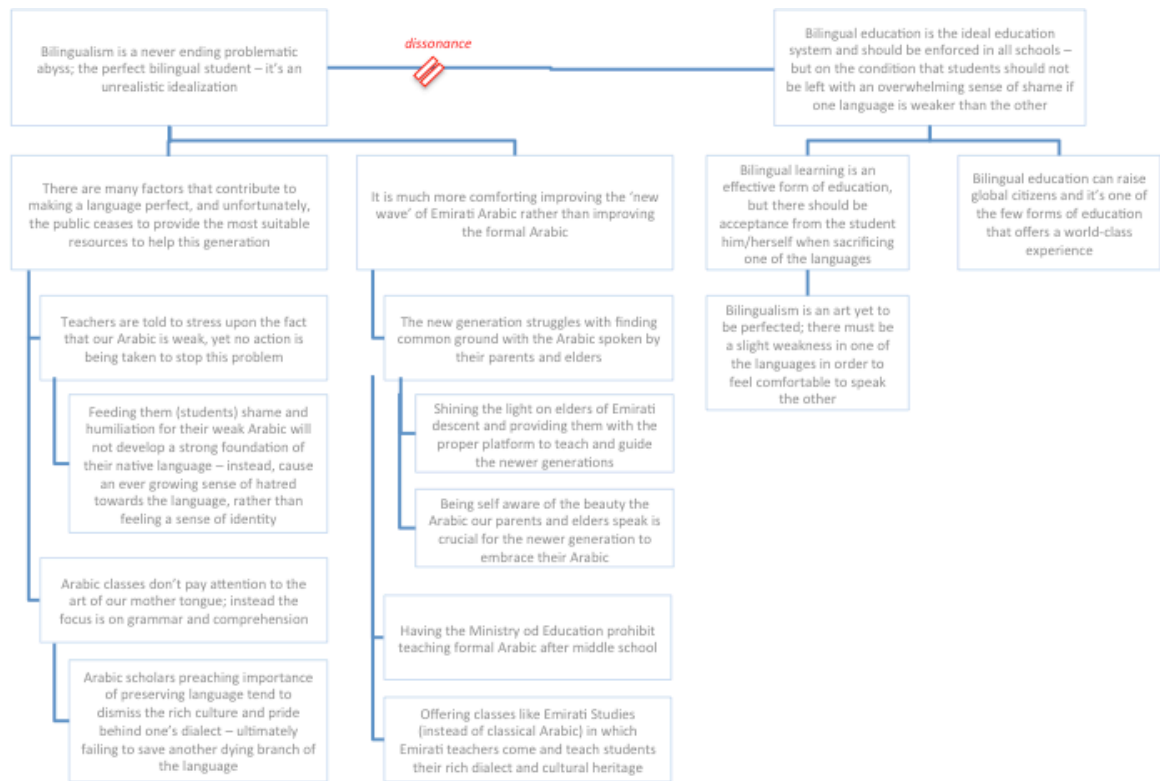
'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant A-6



'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant A-7



'Loose Network' Based on Essay Submitted by Participant A-8



## Appendix 13: Essay Submitted by A-8 for the Pilot Study (March 2016)

The Bilingual education is schooling that is quite complex and challenging. For most students, it's the norm, they're used to being taught with two different languages with different backgrounds. Yet, to some it can come across as impossible or problematic. A bilingual education is a form of schooling that involves teaching academic classes in two languages; both the secondary language and the native language are spoken during the students classes. It is an academic system used all around the globe. In my opinion the bilingual education is more of an obligation, and requires a lot of dedication.

The stakeholders in charge of developing and expanding our knowledge of a bilingual education will most likely agree that bilingual education is our future. It's the modern form of schooling and it is a very beneficial to the youth's future. Since the bilingual education is a somewhat new form of schooling, some parents believe that the main goals of teaching a student with a native language other than English is mastering the English language and then supplementing the students' native language in another way. Educators use multiple methods to help the student evolve to speaking English (if he/she did not already speak it). For some, students they'd lean towards the *Immersion* way of learning which is, only learning and speaking in English. Other prefer the *Transitional* Bilingual education, which offers them instruction in their native language, but concentrates mostly in the English language. While some select the *Developmental* Bilingual education, which promotes to build skills in the students using their native language, while also learning English like a regular student. In a student's point of view, I'd prefer perfecting the secondary language because it's more ideal and beneficial in this generation. Although it depends on each student.

In a students perspective, I'd like to preserve my native language, I believe that it is very important to keep my native language alive. At a younger age, it would have been a nice experience to be taught the formal Arabic and perfect it. But as a high-school student, I see no point in starting a bilingual education. Some students believe that it's not important to learn and perfect the formal version of our native language by reason of every Arab country speaks a different dialect. In my opinion the bilingual education is more convenient to students of a foreign country. The bilingual education benefits foreign students with no secondary language moving to an English speaking country more than a student living in a diverse community with countless languages.

There are a lot of obstacles a student should be willing to take in order to study in a bilingual education. There are certain steps to being prepared in order to learn more than one language. The first step is getting over the fear of learning two languages. I believe that anyone with a stable mind and patient is capable of learning two languages and perfecting them. Yet some students don't have the ability to learn more than one language, and find it very difficult and challenging. Students with this issue should seek other ways to help and encourage them to go on. The opportunities of a bilingual education are endless! Knowing more than one language is a gift, you can communicate with people in an easier way, you have better probability to study abroad, and also connecting with people from different cultures and backgrounds.

In conclusion the Bilingual Education is our future and the modern form of learning, it will give students so many great opportunities and benefit the youth in many ways as well. It is in the stakeholders hands to provide the students of the next generation with a bilingual education and help them achieve many great upcoming goals they might have in mind. The stakeholders must work together in order for this to be a success. I believe that with a bilingual education the native language will stay alive and be perfected and the secondary language would be mastered as well. This will lead the generation to a modernized future.

(677 words)



## Appendix 14: Thematic Analysis of Participant A-8's Evolving Positions

When I conducted a pilot study for this enquiry in 2016, Participant A-8 was 16 years of age and studying in Grade 10 at AAM. The essay she wrote (reproduced in its entirety in Appendix 13) consisted of 677 words. Although the overriding message was in favour of bilingual education, the essay did raise several issues in relation to how the model can be applied. For instance, in her opening statement, A-8 refers to bilingual schooling as being *"quite complex and challenging"*. The third sentence of the first paragraph claims that *"to some it [bilingual schooling] can come across as impossible or problematic"*. She expands on this in the fourth paragraph when she states that *"some students don't have the ability to learn more than one language, and find it very difficult and challenging"*. The advice she offers these students is largely centered around overcoming *"the fear of learning two languages"*, seeking help, receiving encouragement and generally persevering until the obstacles are surmounted, because in the end all the hard work is bound to pay dividends, in light of the fact that the *"opportunities of a bilingual education are endless"*. In paragraph 2 of her 2016 essay, participant A-8 introduces the reader to some of the forms that bilingual education can take, naming and briefly describing three in particular: *immersion*, *transitional* and *developmental*. When offering her own point of view with respect to which of these types may be best suited for Dubai, she states the following: *"In a student's point of view, I'd prefer perfecting the secondary language because it's more ideal and beneficial in this generation"*; although she is quick to qualify her opinion by asserting that other students may view this differently. An alternative interpretation of her qualifying statement (*"Although it depends on each student"*) is that there is no 'one-type-fits-all' solution as some students may benefit from one model while others may fair better in another. Generally, however, and barring these technical problems which, through will and sheer determination, can be addressed, the overall spirit of the essay was one in strong favour of a bilingual educational model bracing the educational markets of Dubai. As evidence of this, participant A-8 repeats the phrase *"Bilingual Education is our future"* twice in her 2016 essay, and in her closing remarks she states: *"The stakeholders must work together in order for this to be a success."*

The third paragraph in participant A-8's pilot study essay stands out for me, more so now that I have read her 2018 essay than when I first read it two years ago, for in it she raises some of the themes that will later take centre stage in her 2018 composition, namely: the importance of preserving native language, formal Arabic versus regional dialects, and under what circumstances and for whom is a bilingual educational model most appropriate. Tension is rife within this paragraph. On the one hand, A-8 makes the claim: *"In a students perspective, I'd like to preserve my native language, I believe that it is very important to keep my native language alive"*. Three sentences later, she states: *"Some students believe that it's not important to learn and perfect the formal version of our native language by reason of*

*every Arab country speaks a different dialect*". Through this statement, participant A-8 raises the question of what constitutes 'native language' for an Emirati student, and which of the two versions of Arabic are worth preserving, the formal one taught through textbooks and in schools, or the spoken one which is steeped in cultural traditions and shaped by shared experiences. While she is content to simply introduce the dualism between formal Arabic and the Emirati dialect in her 2016 composition through these short sentences, in 2018 she unleashes the debate in a much more amplified and emotive fashion, as described later in this section. The other source of tension introduced in the third paragraph of the 2016 essay emanates from A-8's stated opinion that *"bilingual education is more convenient to students of a foreign country... more than a student living in a diverse community with countless languages"*. Interpreting the last few words as being a reference to Dubai (or the UAE as a whole), this statement is in clear conflict with the multiple assertions elsewhere in the essay in which bilingual education is positioned prominently to *"lead the generation [of young Emiratis] to a modernized future"*. If the statement linking bilingual education to students of a foreign country was participant A-8's attempt at putting the bilingual model 'in its proper place', her assertion that *"as a high-school student, I see no point in starting a bilingual education"* puts the model 'in its proper time'; in other words, that the model is more suited for the primary years rather than secondary education.

Twenty-three months (close to two years) elapsed between participant A-8's pilot study essay and her submission in March 2018 for the current enquiry. By then, she was completing her final year of secondary schooling at AAM and looking forward, in a few short months, to joining the freshman class at either New York University in Abu Dhabi or the American University of Sharjah. Emotive words and phrases infuse her 2018 exposition in abundance, revealing a palpable sense that the teaching of formal Arabic in schools was akin to an 'act of brutality' against Emirati students and their national dialect. Examples include: *"widespread stigmatism"*, *"pressure and shame"*, *"feeding them shame and humiliation"*, *"ever growing sense of hatred towards the language [formal Arabic]"*, *"thick tension"*, *"fear of 'forgetting' your native tongue"* (quotation marks in the original), *"the public ceases to provide the most suitable resources to help this generation"*, and in relation to the Emirati dialect her observation that the insistence by schools on teaching formal Arabic, exclusively, was *"ultimately failing to save another dying branch of a language"*. The majority of these words and phrases appear in the first two paragraphs of the composition, where the focus of the narrative is on the corrosive nature of the pressure being applied by the Ministry of Education and society as a whole on Emirati students through the teaching of formal Arabic in schools as a means of 'preserving' the language for future generations. In the third paragraph, participant A-8 elucidates this point by mentioning the chorus of factors in the lives of young Emiratis in which Arabic is all but absent, such as television, music, radio broadcasts, etc., and the failure by the authorities culpable in this whole equation of directing the right resources to address the problem. Their solution seems confined to exposing students in schools to grammar lessons,

which according to her argument is wholly counterproductive. She sums up the situation in the concluding sentence of the third paragraph: *"Overall, the general approach the majority of people have on preserving Arabic in the UAE is unjustifiable."* The one instance in which bilingualism is mentioned in the first three paragraphs of the essay frames the term in equally impassioned language:

As a student who faces the difficulty of being a bilingual student and a person who faces the pressure of preserving your mother tongue it is safe to state that bilingualism is a never ending, problematic abyss – Participant A-8.

If the language in the first three paragraphs is meant to stir feelings of anger and resentment against a gross injustice, the words and phrases that appear in the fourth paragraph, the longest of the five paragraphs in the essay, aim at generating the feeling of calmness and serenity, as the discourse shifts to the topic of what A-8 refers to as the 'new wave' of Emirati Arabic. Words and phrases such as: *"comforting", "new wave", "sense of beginning", "identifies with", "beauty" and "embrace"* pepper the paragraph, as the author puts forward the argument that in the Arabic-English bilingual equation formal Arabic should be replaced with the Emirati dialect, at least in the secondary years of education. To this effect she writes: *"...the ministry of education [should] prohibit teaching formal Arabic after middle school, and instead, offer classes like Emirati Studies – in which Emirati teachers come and teach students of the rich dialect and cultural heritage in the UAE"*. To her, this is the only viable route towards enlivening the status of Arabic in the hearts and minds of Emirati youths. In her own words: *"Being self aware of the beauty the Arabic our parents and elders speak is crucial to the step the nation can take for allowing the new generation to embrace their Arabic"*. She goes on to define what she terms as a 'new wave' of spoken Emirati Arabic as a dynamic and constantly evolving cocktail of ancestral Emirati Arabic infused with English and Arabic slang. Rather than be ashamed by this non-traditional definition of the language, which sits in stark contrast to the formal Arabic that, ostensibly, has not changed for over 14 centuries since the revelation of the Holy Quran, A-8 is encouraging us to embrace it.

In the fifth and final paragraph of her 2018 essay, participant A-8 turns her attention squarely onto the bilingual model, referring to it as an *"unrealistic idealization"*. Although in one instance she labels it as *"one of the few forms of education that offers a world-class experience"* and calls for the model to be *"enforced in all schools"*, albeit with the stipulation that the inevitable shortfall in students' abilities to strike a 'perfect balance' between the two languages should not be met with derision, her concluding remarks could not be more lucid:

In my previous essay, I mentioned the bilingual education will allow student's native language to be perfected whilst their secondary language to be mastered as well. I can strongly argue that this argument isn't one I can back up anymore – Participant A-8.

## Appendix 15: 'Tension Singulars' – Before and After Editing

	Before Editing	After Editing
1	Delivering international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model does have many challenges	Delivering an international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model has many challenges
2	The challenges for bilingual education are most teachers were educated monolingual; finding, training and keeping them is a challenge	The difficulty in bilingual education is that most teachers are educated as monolinguals; finding, training and retaining them can be a challenge
3	The challenges for bilingual education are it is hard to make time to learn each language and studying them	The challenge for bilingual education is that it is difficult to make time to study and learn in both languages
4	The cost for following a bilingual education model is high	The cost for running a bilingual education model is high
5	It is important that the government with other stakeholders take the initiative to educate the public on the benefits of this model, especially if implemented in international programs	If bilingual education is to take root in Dubai, it is important that the government with other stakeholders takes the initiative to educate the public on the benefits of this model, especially if implemented within international programmes
6	To evolve the idea of an Arabic-English core education for Emirati students, we must bring into play the use of Arabic in everyday tasks not only at home, but at school as well	To promote the idea of an Arabic-English core education for Emirati students, we must bring into play the use of Arabic in everyday tasks not only at home, but at school as well
7	The model must be relevant to all nationalities	For it to be effective, the Arabic-English bilingual model must be relevant to all nationalities
8	If I had the opportunity to create a bilingual programme, I would make sure that the subjects would be divided equally between Arabic and English	For an Arabic-English bilingual programme to achieve its goals, the subjects taught must be divided equally between the two languages
9	An Arabic-English bilingual program would offer an equal amount of Arabic and English speaking staff or all staff members would be bilingual	An Arabic-English bilingual programme would either have to offer an equal number of Arabic and English native speaking staff, or otherwise all staff members would be bilingual
10	An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to ensure that the mission of the schools also includes the goal of equal status of English and Arabic	An effective Arabic bilingual model must ensure that the mission statements of school include the goal of equal status of English and Arabic
11	An effective Arabic bilingual model must be able to ensure team teaching, i.e, two homeroom instructors in every classroom (native speaker of Arabic and of English)	An effective Arabic bilingual model must feature team teaching; in other words, two homeroom instructors in every classroom, one who is a native speaker of Arabic and the other a native speaker of English
12	Different programs should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all	Different programmes should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all

<b>13</b>	Younger students are more capable to process and absorb information... and are able to flip between languages	Younger students are more capable of processing and absorbing information, and are able to easily flip between languages
<b>14</b>	I wouldn't recommend continuing the model into the secondary school	<i>Unchanged</i>
<b>15</b>	Arabic scholars preaching importance of preserving language tend to dismiss the rich culture and pride behind one's dialect – ultimately failing to save another dying branch of the language	Insistence on teaching classical Arabic in schools exclusively dismisses the rich culture and pride behind the Emirati dialect, ultimately failing to save yet another dying branch of the language
<b>16</b>	The new generation struggles with finding common ground with the Arabic spoken by their parents and elders	The new generation of Emirati students struggles with finding common ground with the Arabic spoken by their parents and elders
<b>17</b>	Offering classes like Emirati Studies (instead of classical Arabic) in which Emirati teachers come and teach students their rich dialect and cultural heritage	Schools should be offering classes like Emirati Studies (in place of of classical Arabic) in which Emirati instructors teach students their rich dialect and cultural heritage
<b>18</b>	Emirati students who attend public schools are relatively more proficient in both the formal and informal Arabic, as their environment allows them to apply the language more often	<i>Unchanged</i>

## Appendix 16: ‘Tension Couplets’ – Before and After Editing

	Before Editing	After Editing
1A	Arabic and English are used equally in Dubai private schools	<i>Unchanged</i>
1B	Private schools in Dubai do not treat Arabic and English on an equal footing	<i>Unchanged</i>
2A	In the UAE workfield today and in the future, Arabic is a predominantly used language	The predominant language used in the UAE job market today and in the future is Arabic
2B	The globalization of Dubai, where English has gradually started to take shift as a more prominent language, given the high percentage of expatriates	The globalisation of Dubai has resulted in a shift in which English has become the more prominent language, given the high percentage of expatriates
3A	As a local working in the UAE, Arabic is a necessity in order to communicate strongly or at least correctly	As an Emirati working in the UAE, Arabic is a necessity in order to communicate effectively, or at least correctly
3B	When it comes to business and matters of trade, the English language tends to be the most common currency	<i>Unchanged</i>
4A	We (Emiratis) must be able to balance the two (languages) without overriding one on the other	Emiratis must be able to balance the two languages (Arabic and English) without allowing one to override the other
4B	I don't think Emirati students that attend private schools really yearn an Arabic and English bilingual education	Emirati students who attend private schools do not really desire an Arabic-English bilingual education
5A	I would like to believe that if the dual language immersion was applied to all schools for Arab and non-Arab students, it would be treated welcomingly	If an Arabic-English bilingual model were to be applied to all schools for Arab and non-Arab students, everyone will welcome it
5B	Many private schools are made up of tons of international students; English is the only way most students can understand and be taught in	Many private schools are made up of a huge number of international students; English is the only language most of these students can understand and be taught in
6A	The majority of schools in Dubai are, in fact, bilingual	<i>Unchanged</i>
6B	Although several methods (of bilingual models) exist, not many schools in the UAE follow them	Although several models of bilingual education exist, not many schools in the UAE follow them
7A	In Dubai, there is a high demand in the market for Arabic-English bilingual schools	<i>Unchanged</i>
7B	Many people disagree with the idea of a bilingual speaking school	<i>Unchanged</i>
8A	I wouldn't be sacrificing really anything if I were to choose a bilingual model over an English medium model for my child	From the perspective of an Emirati parent, I wouldn't be sacrificing anything if I were to choose a bilingual model over an English-medium model for my child

<b>8B</b>	By choosing to enroll my child in a bilingual model I would be sacrificing my child's future	By choosing to enroll my child in a bilingual model I would be sacrificing my his/her future
<b>9A</b>	Being bilingual, it turns out, makes you smarter, gives you cross-cultural access, and future employment advantages	Being bilingual makes you smarter, gives you cross-cultural access, and future employment advantages
<b>9B</b>	Having two main languages being taught and spoken would cause dispersion of student thinking	<i>Unchanged</i>
<b>10A</b>	Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for closing the gap between language learners and native speakers	<i>Unchanged</i>
<b>10B</b>	In many (bilingual schools) there is a dominant language, then a second language	In many bilingual schools there is a dominant language, then a second language
<b>11A</b>	Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for producing language learners with higher long-term academic outcomes than those educated monolingual	Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for producing language learners with higher long-term academic outcomes than those educated in a monolingual setting
<b>11B</b>	A bilingual program can also result in an adverse effect on the overall academic development	A bilingual programme can also result in an adverse effect on the overall academic development of the learner
<b>12A</b>	It (bilingual education) allows parents to let their kids reach their goals and become superior in the future and with their jobs	Bilingual education allows parents to provide their children with the opportunity to reach their goals and to excel in their future and in their careers
<b>12B</b>	It would be overwhelming for students to cope and in the end their procrastination would take over and cause them to fail	It would be overwhelming for learners to cope in a bilingual setting, and in the end their procrastination would take over and cause them to fail
<b>13A</b>	The bilingual model plays an important role in the learning and teaching process	<i>Unchanged</i>
<b>13B</b>	However, it (a bilingual model) won't be very successful and effective	The bilingual model will not be very successful in Dubai, nor will it be very effective
<b>14A</b>	Arabic classes don't pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; the Ministry of Education should prohibit the teaching of formal Arabic after middle school	Arabic classes do not pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; the Ministry of Education should prohibit the teaching of formal Arabic after middle school
<b>14B</b>	The classical Arabic should be a paramount part of our daily lives, and not be seen as a required course taken only in school	For us Emiratis, classical Arabic should be a paramount part of our daily lives, and not be seen as a required course taken only in school

## Appendix 17: Principals Information Letter for Phase 2 Data Collection

### Participation in an Online Research Questionnaire

Project Title: In Search of Bilingual Education in Dubai's Private K-12 Education Sector

Dear Principal,

I trust this finds you well.

KHDA is pleased to inform you of its collaboration with a local researcher, Mr. Ziad Azzam, on a Doctorate level research enquiry concerning the topic of bilingual education. The aim of the enquiry is to establish the type of Arabic-English bilingual educational model that would suit the needs of Emirati families and to explore the circumstances by which it can take root in Dubai's private K-12 sector.

The design adopts a mixed methods approach composed of two phases. Phase 1, which is now complete, followed a qualitative methodology where a small of Emirati students submitted essays articulating their viewpoint on the research topic. Analysis of these essays has generated a series of statements that constitute the bulk of the questions appearing in the present online questionnaire (Phase 2). We would like you to ask **all Emirati students aged between 15 and 18 years** enrolled in your school to respond to this questionnaire. They can do so by clicking on the following link:

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/3P9B7M6>

Participation in this study is voluntary, although of course, we would like to have as broad a pool of participants as possible. No names or other data that may identify the students who complete the questionnaire will be captured or recorded.

We hope the findings of this investigation will prove useful to your school, by offering members of its community a voice in constructing, albeit theoretically at this early stage, a framework upon which a possible Arabic-English bilingual model may emerge that will suit Dubai's ethnically diverse population. From a broader perspective, the outcomes of the study have the potential to expand our understanding of dual-language bilingual educational models and language awareness for children in similar settings.

Finally, and for your records, please find below a brief biography of Mr. Ziad Azzam.

*Ziad Azzam grew up in the UAE, before completing at MIT Bachelors degrees in physics and electrical engineering as well as a Masters degree in theoretical physics. After an early career as a teacher and then head, followed by three years as a consultant with McKinsey & Company, he founded Beacon Education (now Taaleem), a school management company that develops and manages international schools in the UAE. After ten years as Chief Executive Officer of Taaleem, he now serves on the company's board.*

If you have any questions please direct them to [REDACTED]

Sincerely,

[ - ]

Partnership, Research and Development Department, KHDA



## Appendix 18: KHDA's Letter of Support (dated 06 June 2018)



www.khda.gov.ae @KHDA DUBAI @KHDA

### SUPPORTING ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN DUBAI'S PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Dear Principal

Our private school community is at the forefront of advances in educational practice. Dubai's international context of multiple curricula and international teachers supporting the education of Emirati and expatriate students offers researchers a rich source of material to explore and analyse what is working and what could be improved. Your school's support of quality research being conducted by academic researchers helps them in their studies, helps schools link with cutting edge research, and provides the school system with feedback mechanisms so that it can continually improve.

KHDA has reviewed the research project of Mr Ziad Azzam of the University of Bath, UK, on bilingual education in schools for Emiratis and considers it relevant to the Dubai education landscape. Please note that KHDA has no academic oversight over this research project and that the university associated with the researcher is responsible for ethics approval and other research processes. Your school is free to choose if you wish to support this research project.

Thank you for considering this research request and supporting the academic research community.

Sincerely

Luke Naismith  
Director of Research  
6 June 2018

## Appendix 19: Statistical Analysis of Responses to Statements 39–56 Across the Four Perspectives

Statement	Score/(SD) - Aggregate Perspective	Score/(SD) - Gender Perspective	Score/(SD) - Curriculum Perspective	Score/(SD) - Teach Demogr. Perspective
39: “A school that delivers an international curriculum within the confines of a bilingual model has many challenges.”	+0.54 (0.22)	F: +0.46 (0.21) M: +0.63 (0.23)	IB: +0.88 (0.27) US: +0.36 (0.19)	Arab: +0.38 (0.19) Wes: +0.74 (0.25)
40: “The new generation of Emirati students struggles with finding common ground with the Arabic spoken by their parents and elders.”	+0.35 (0.25)	F: +0.27 (0.25) M: +0.44 (0.25)	IB: +0.54 (0.25) US: +0.25 (0.25)	Arab: +0.31 (0.26) Wes: +0.39 (0.23)
41: “Insistence on teaching classical Arabic in schools exclusively dismisses the rich culture and pride behind the Emirati dialect.”	+0.50 (0.24)	F: +0.41 (0.23) M: +0.59 (0.25)	IB: +0.61 (0.24) US: +0.44 (0.25)	Arab: +0.44 (0.25) Wes: +0.57 (0.23)
42: “The bilingual model should be limited to the primary and middle years, and should be discontinued in secondary school.”	-0.44 (0.29)	F: -0.65 (0.34) M: -0.19 (0.25)	IB: -0.39 (0.29) US: -0.48 (0.29)	Arab: -0.49 (0.29) Wes: -0.39 (0.30)
43: “Younger students are more capable of processing and absorbing information, and are able to easily flip between languages.”	+0.83 (0.30)	F: +0.85 (0.29) M: +0.80 (0.30)	IB: +0.82 (0.31) US: +0.83 (0.29)	Arab: +0.84 (0.30) Wes: +0.80 (0.30)
44: “Different approaches to bilingual education should be made available throughout the market as one style is surely not suitable for all.”	+0.76 (0.24)	F: +0.70 (0.23) M: +0.83 (0.25)	IB: +0.93 (0.26) US: +0.67 (0.24)	Arab: +0.69 (0.24) Wes: +0.86 (0.25)
45: “An effective Arabic-English bilingual model must feature team teaching; in other words, two homeroom instructors in every classroom, one who is a native speaker of Arabic, and the other a native speaker of English.”	+0.51 (0.25)	F: +0.60 (0.28) M: +0.41 (0.23)	IB: +0.51 (0.25) US: +0.52 (0.25)	Arab: +0.55 (0.26) Wes: +0.47 (0.24)
46: “An effective Arabic-English bilingual model must ensure that the mission statements of	+1.04 (0.35)	F: +1.17 (0.42) M: +0.89 (0.28)	IB: +1.13 (0.34) US: +1.01 (0.36)	Arab: +1.06 (0.37) Wes: +1.04 (0.32)

schools include the goal of equal status between English and Arabic.”				
47: “An Arabic-English bilingual programme would either have to offer an equal number of Arabic and English native speaking staff, or otherwise all staff members would have to be bilingual.”	+0.72 (0.28)	F: +0.90 (0.31) M: +0.50 (0.24)	IB: +0.68 (0.26) US: +0.75 (0.29)	Arab: +0.78 (0.29) Wes: +0.66 (0.26)
48: “For an Arabic-English bilingual programme to achieve its goals, the subjects taught must be divided equally between the two languages.”	+0.69 (0.31)	F: +0.87 (0.38) M: +0.48 (0.25)	IB: +0.75 (0.31) US: +0.66 (0.31)	Arab: +0.77 (0.31) Wes: +0.59 (0.30)
49: “For it to be effective, the Arabic-English bilingual model must be relevant to all nationalities.”	+0.82 (0.27)	F: +0.88 (0.31) M: +0.76 (0.24)	IB: +0.82 (0.26) US: +0.83 (0.29)	Arab: +0.88 (0.30) Wes: +0.74 (0.25)
50: “To promote the idea of an Arabic-English core education for Emirati students, we must bring into play the use of Arabic in everyday tasks not only at home, but in school as well.”	+1.03 (0.35)	F: +1.09 (0.40) M: +0.95 (0.30)	IB: +1.32 (0.39) US: +0.88 (0.33)	Arab: +0.91 (0.34) Wes: +1.18 (0.36)
51: “If bilingual education is to take root in Dubai, it is important that the government with other stakeholders takes the initiative to educate the public on the benefits of this model, especially if implemented within international programmes.”	+0.83 (0.27)	F: +0.93 (0.32) M: +0.71 (0.25)	IB: +1.00 (0.30) US: +0.74 (0.27)	Arab: +0.78 (0.28) Wes: +0.90 (0.27)
52: “The cost of running a bilingual education model is high.”	+0.49 (0.21)	F: +0.42 (0.20) M: +0.57 (0.24)	IB: +0.80 (0.24) US: +0.33 (0.20)	Arab: +0.40 (0.21) Wes: +0.61 (0.22)
53: “The challenge for bilingual education is that it is difficult to make time to study and learn in both languages.”	+0.33 (0.28)	F: +0.16 (0.32) M: +0.53 (0.25)	IB: +0.79 (0.29) US: +0.09 (0.29)	Arab: +0.05 (0.29) Wes: +0.69 (0.28)
54: “The difficulty in bilingual education is that most teachers are educated as monolinguals; finding, training and retaining them	+0.65 (0.22)	F: +0.54 (0.20) M: +0.78 (0.24)	IB: +0.89 (0.25) US: +0.52 (0.21)	Arab: +0.59 (0.21) Wes: +0.73 (0.23)

can be a challenge.”				
55: “Emirati students who attend public schools are relatively more proficient in both formal and informal Arabic, as their environment allows them to apply the language more often.”	+1.08 (0.38)	F: +1.17 (0.42) M: +0.96 (0.33)	IB: +1.17 (0.39) US: +1.02 (0.37)	Arab: +1.13 (0.39) Wes: +0.99 (0.36)
56: “Schools should be offering classes such as Emirati Studies (in place of classical Arabic) in which Emirati instructors teach students their rich dialect and cultural heritage.”	+0.93 (0.38)	F: +1.10 (0.47) M: +0.74 (0.29)	IB: +1.22 (0.44) US: +0.79 (0.35)	Arab: +0.84 (0.36) Wes: +1.06 (0.40)

## Appendix 20: Statistical Analysis of Responses to Statements 57–84 Across the Four Perspectives

Statement	Score/(SD) - Aggregate Perspective	Score/(SD) - Gender Perspective	Score/(SD) - Curriculum Perspective	Score/(SD) - Teach Demogr. Perspective
57: “Arabic and English are used equally in Dubai's private schools.”	-0.02 (0.31)	F: -0.02 (0.35) M: -0.03 (0.28)	IB: -0.18 (0.30) US: +0.05 (0.32)	Arab: +0.13 (0.32) Wes: -0.23 (0.32)
58: “Private schools in Dubai do not treat Arabic and English on an equal footing.”	+0.60 (0.33)	F: +0.50 (0.35) M: +0.72 (0.31)	IB: +0.92 (0.35) US: +0.44 (0.32)	Arab: +0.47 (0.32) Wes: +0.78 (0.35)
59: “The predominant language used in the UAE job market today and in the future is Arabic.”	-0.03 (0.23)	F: -0.20 (0.22) M: +0.18 (0.24)	IB: -0.05 (0.21) US: -0.01 (0.24)	Arab: -0.01 (0.25) Wes: -0.05 (0.20)
60: “The globalization of Dubai has resulted in a shift in which English has become the more prominent language, given the high percentage of expatriates.”	+1.00 (0.33)	F: +1.07 (0.36) M: +0.91 (0.30)	IB: +1.27 (0.34) US: +0.86 (0.33)	Arab: +0.88 (0.34) Wes: +1.15 (0.32)
61: “As an Emirati working in the UAE, Arabic is a necessity in order to communicate effectively, or at least correctly.”	+1.12 (0.36)	F: +1.07 (0.37) M: +1.17 (0.35)	IB: +1.35 (0.40) US: +1.00 (0.34)	Arab: +1.07 (0.35) Wes: +1.18 (0.38)
62: “When it comes to business and matters of trade, the English language tends to be the most common currency.”	+1.10 (0.37)	F: +1.19 (0.40) M: +1.00 (0.33)	IB: +1.00 (0.33) US: +1.15 (0.39)	Arab: +1.18 (0.41) Wes: +0.99 (0.32)
63: “Emiratis must be able to balance the two languages (Arabic and English) without allowing one to override the other.”	+1.21 (0.43)	F: +1.25 (0.48) M: +1.18 (0.38)	IB: +1.32 (0.44) US: +1.16 (0.42)	Arab: +1.15 (0.42) Wes: +1.30 (0.44)
64: “Emirati students who attend private schools do not really desire an Arabic-English bilingual education.”	-0.04 (0.24)	F: -0.25 (0.26) M: +0.21 (0.23)	IB: +0.24 (0.25) US: -0.17 (0.24)	Arab: -0.19 (0.25) Wes: +0.18 (0.24)
65: “If an Arabic-English bilingual model were to be applied to all schools for Arab and non-Arab students, everyone will welcome it.”	+0.42 (0.25)	F: +0.44 (0.29) M: +0.40 (0.23)	IB: +0.41 (0.27) US: +0.43 (0.25)	Arab: +0.50 (0.24) Wes: +0.31 (0.27)
66: “Many private schools are made up of a huge number of international students; English is the only	+0.89 (0.32)	F: +0.83 (0.33) M: +0.95 (0.31)	IB: +1.07 (0.33) US: +0.80 (0.31)	Arab: +0.79 (0.31) Wes: +1.02 (0.33)

language most of these students can understand and be taught in.”				
67: “The majority of schools in Dubai are, in fact, bilingual.”	+0.78 (0.29)	F: +0.86 (0.31) M: +0.69 (0.27)	IB: +0.60 (0.28) US: +0.87 (0.30)	Arab: +0.90 (0.31) Wes: +0.61 (0.27)
68: “Although several models of bilingual education exist in the world, not many schools in the UAE follow them.”	+0.65 (0.21)	F: +0.65 (0.21) M: +0.64 (0.23)	IB: +0.80 (0.23) US: +0.57 (0.21)	Arab: +0.57 (0.22) Wes: +0.76 (0.21)
69: “In Dubai, there is a high demand in the market for Arabic-English bilingual schools.”	+0.66 (0.21)	F: +0.58 (0.20) M: +0.76 (0.22)	IB: +0.78 (0.22) US: +0.60 (0.20)	Arab: +0.64 (0.22) Wes: +0.69 (0.20)
70: “Many people disagree with the idea of a bilingual speaking school.”	-0.22 (0.20)	F: -0.38 (0.21) M: -0.03 (0.19)	IB: -0.22 (0.21) US: -0.21 (0.20)	Arab: -0.22 (0.21) Wes: -0.20 (0.19)
71: “From the perspective of an Emirati parent, I wouldn't be sacrificing anything if I were to choose a bilingual model over an English-medium model for my child.”	+0.68 (0.25)	F: +0.57 (0.25) M: +0.80 (0.25)	IB: +0.55 (0.24) US: +0.74 (0.26)	Arab: +0.80 (0.28) Wes: +0.50 (0.22)
72: “By choosing to enroll my child in a bilingual school I would be sacrificing his/her future.”	-0.37 (0.28)	F: -0.46 (0.29) M: -0.28 (0.28)	IB: -0.54 (0.34) US: -0.29 (0.25)	Arab: -0.29 (0.26) Wes: -0.50 (0.31)
73: “Being bilingual makes you smarter, gives you cross-cultural access, and future employment advantages.”	+1.35 (0.47)	F: +1.44 (0.52) M: +1.25 (0.41)	IB: +1.49 (0.50) US: +1.28 (0.45)	Arab: +1.29 (0.46) Wes: +1.44 (0.48)
74: “Having two main languages being taught and spoken would cause dispersion of student thinking.”	+0.07 (0.24)	F: -0.14 (0.25) M: +0.31 (0.24)	IB: +0.26 (0.26) US: -0.02 (0.24)	Arab: -0.02 (0.25) Wes: +0.22 (0.25)
75: “Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for closing the gap between language learners and native speakers.”	+0.92 (0.29)	F: +0.95 (0.31) M: +0.88 (0.27)	IB: +1.13 (0.30) US: +0.81 (0.28)	Arab: +0.84 (0.29) Wes: +1.04 (0.30)
76: “In many bilingual schools there is a dominant language, then a second language.”	+0.88 (0.29)	F: +0.78 (0.29) M: +1.00 (0.30)	IB: +1.20 (0.33) US: +0.72 (0.28)	Arab: +0.73 (0.28) Wes: +1.13 (0.31)
77: “Bilingual forms of education are the most effective for producing learners with higher long-	+0.91 (0.27)	F: +0.91 (0.31) M: +0.92 (0.25)	IB: +0.97 (0.26) US: +0.88 (0.29)	Arab: +0.93 (0.30) Wes: +0.88 (0.24)

term academic outcomes than those educated in a monolingual setting.”				
78: “A bilingual programme can result in an adverse effect on the overall academic development of the learner.”	+0.50 (0.22)	F: +0.50 (0.23) M: +0.51 (0.22)	IB: +0.81 (0.26) US: +0.35 (0.21)	Arab: +0.36 (0.22) Wes: +0.73 (0.23)
79: “Bilingual education allows parents to provide their children with the opportunity to reach their goals and to excel in their future and in their careers.”	+1.26 (0.41)	F: +1.31 (0.45) M: +1.21 (0.36)	IB: +1.39 (0.43) US: +1.20 (0.39)	Arab: +1.26 (0.42) Wes: +1.27 (0.38)
80: “It would be overwhelming for learners to cope in a bilingual setting, and in the end their procrastination would take over and cause them to fail.”	-0.09 (0.22)	F: -0.26 (0.24) M: +0.11 (0.21)	IB: -0.06 (0.24) US: -0.10 (0.22)	Arab: -0.16 (0.22) Wes: +0.03 (0.23)
81: “The bilingual model plays an important role in the learning and teaching process.”	+1.17 (0.35)	F: +1.25 (0.38) M: +1.07 (0.32)	IB: +1.25 (0.35) US: +1.12 (0.35)	Arab: +1.15 (0.37) Wes: +1.18 (0.33)
82: “The bilingual model will not be very successful in Dubai, nor will it be very effective.”	-0.72 (0.33)	F: -0.99 (0.39) M: -0.41 (0.26)	IB: -0.88 (0.36) US: -0.63 (0.31)	Arab: -0.69 (0.33) Wes: -0.75 (0.32)
83: “For us Emiratis, classical Arabic should be a paramount part of our daily lives, and not be seen as a required course taken only in school.”	+0.58 (0.30)	F: +0.36 (0.31) M: +0.82 (0.30)	IB: +0.55 (0.35) US: +0.59 (0.28)	Arab: +0.66 (0.29) Wes: +0.45 (0.33)
84: “Arabic classes do not pay attention to the art of our mother tongue; classical Arabic should not be taught after middle school.”	+0.19 (0.29)	F: +0.25 (0.32) M: +0.12 (0.27)	IB: +0.43 (0.33) US: +0.06 (0.28)	Arab: +0.06 (0.28) Wes: +0.39 (0.32)